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VOL. VIII.

JANUARY, 1904.

No. 1.

PUBLICATIONS  
OF THE

SOUTHERN HISTORY ASSOCIATION.

COLYER MERIWETHER, Editor.

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ISSUED BI-MONTHLY.

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CONTENTS :

	PAGE
TEXAS REVOLUTION DOCUMENTS, . . . . .	1
SOUTHERN TRAVELER'S DIARY IN 1840 (continued), . . . . .	23
FIRST UNIVERSITY PLANNED FOR AMERICA (U. S.), by J. S. Flory, . . . . .	40
THE DUANE LETTERS (continued), . . . . .	53
RECONSTRUCTION DOCUMENTS, . . . . .	57
REVIEWS, . . . . .	61
PERIODICAL LITERATURE, . . . . .	72
NOTES AND NEWS, . . . . .	78

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Pursuant to a call signed by nearly a hundred representative persons of the South, the Southern History Association was organized at the Columbian University, Washington, D. C., on the evening of April 24, 1896, for the purpose of studying the history of the Southern States. In carrying out this aim an annual meeting is held, and a Bi-monthly Publication issued. The Association also desires contributions of journals, letters, manuscripts and other material towards the beginning of a collection of historical sources. It will gladly accept papers based on research and documents on all subjects touching the South.

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# SOUTHERN HISTORY ASSOCIATION.

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VOL. VIII.

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PIONEER MUNICIPALITIES IN TEXAS REVOLUTION.—MINA<sup>1</sup> AND SAN FELIPE.—DOCUMENTS, 1835.

### MINA MEETING.<sup>2</sup>

[According to Yoakum and Brown, historians of Texas, the independent organization of that department started with the local Committee of Safety. To Mina belongs the honor of the appointment of the first one, on May 8, 1835, at a meeting of the citizens, to be followed by another on the 17th of same month, which added two members to the original number, raising it to five in all. On this latter date, Gonzales and Viesca, municipalities, also chose committees, but there had been, so far as known, no "consultation" among these three, action in each case being "spontaneous." Unfortunately the Association has no document on any of these four assemblies, but the later ones, giving something of the spirit of this fore-runner for the freedom of Texas, seem worthy of publication.

San Felipe, while not entering the field of agitation as early as Mina, was more prominent after the upheaval began. Perhaps, by reason of its central position and by reason of Austin's efforts there, it became one of the leaders, adding great momentum to the cause.

Although some of the following documents have already made their appearance in print, it was in a newspaper, not readily accessible.

<sup>1</sup> Mina, an important frontier point at the time, on the Colorado, 100 miles from Matagorda; it is now known as Bastrop, though there is a Mina postoffice. San Felipe, also one of the larger settlements, was on the Brazos 70 miles above Columbia, near centre of the State.

<sup>2</sup> From Sp. Ms., Bexar Archives.

ble, and hence they are deemed worthy of a reissue, especially when taken in connection with the other unpublished ones.

The Association is indebted to Mr. E. C. Barker, Austin, Tex., for this material.]

MINA, July 1, 1835.

In a meeting of the committee of safety for the municipality of Mina, held July 1st, 1835, it was

*Resolved*, That since the citizens are very much disturbed by current rumors of invasion; as much from Mexicans as from Indians, being excited and confused by contradictory news and vague stories of indefinite and uncertain dangers, and fearing that sinister measures have been taken by wicked men and individuals that are among us to draw Texas into unnecessary discord with the government of the union, we believe that only truth can direct our resolution and operations by the path of prudence and honor, and that our fellow-citizen T. J. Chambers, who, it seems, has not identified himself with any party, may inform the people of the true state of the parties. We hope confidently that he will speak with pleasure upon his feelings concerning the causes of our difficulties, contributing whatever he can for our welfare and that of all Texas by placing under his true point of view the state of things that have been presented to us under so confused and alarming an aspect. For this reason Attorney J. W. Bunton, secretary of this committee, will present himself to the said citizen Chambers, offering him the respects of this committee, and inviting him in its name to pass through this town on his way home to confer for a few hours with this committee on the subjects indicated in this resolution.

And the citizen Chambers will be present with a copy of this resolution, signed by the President.

By order of D. C. Barrett, President.

BUNTON TO CHAMBERS.<sup>3</sup>

GONZALES, July 4, 1835.

To Judge T. J. Chambers.

MY DEAR SIR: The committee of safety of the Jurisdiction of Mina, having ordered me to hand to you the enclosed resolution offering you the respect of the committee, and inviting you to stop in Bastrop on your journey home to confer with the committee on the subject named in the resolution, and having done me the honor to show me in this town a communication and also a letter from Mr. Smith, and having had an interview with Messrs. Gritten and Gile, who with you and Mr. Smith, have let us know the true state of our business, I have determined by the advice of Dr. Miller not to make you a visit in Bexar, as I was expecting to do, but to remit to you through the doctor the resolutions of the committee, asking you to accept it thus remitted.

Condescend to accept, honorable sir, from this town in the name of the committee to visit the committee of Bastrop on your return, with the purposes indicated in the resolution.

J. W. BUNTON.

P. S. If it be possible for you to visit the committee as they desire and expect with anxiety, let them know by a friend as soon as possible.

MINA (BASTROP) MEETING (JULY 4).<sup>4</sup>

On the above date, the citizens of the municipality of Mina met by agreement to consider the present situation of the relations of Texas with the Government of the Mexican United States.

*Resolved, that the people* have entire confidence in the Committee of Safety, and that *all* their acts have the full

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<sup>3</sup> From Sp. Ms., Bexar Archives.

<sup>4</sup> Also found in Newell's *Hist. of Rev. in Texas*, p. 205.

approbation of this meeting; and that said committee be continued with all its power.

*Resolved,* That we feel an entire confidence in the constitution & laws of our adopted country, and will at all times sustain the legal authorities in the exercise of their constitutional duties.

*Resolved,* That Thos. J. Gazley, D. C. Barrett, and Henry P. Hill be a committee to draft a circular to the Ayuntamiento of each municipality in the Department of Brazos upon the objects contemplated by this meeting, and that the same be submitted to the Committee of Safety for their approbation.

*Resolved,* That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the chairman and the secretary.

THOS. J. GAZLEY, *Chairman,*  
JOHN MOODY, *Secretary.*

#### ADDRESS OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE.

GENTLEMEN: On the 4th inst. the citizens of this municipality met according to previous appointment, to consult together as to the degree of credence that they should place in the almost numberless reports that have been circulated among them, and the best method of avoiding the cloud of difficulties that seemed hanging over them.

After the maturest deliberation they came to the conclusion that there was certainly *some* reason to expect a movement of the government forces towards the colonies, and the greatest difficulty was to divine the precise object and intention of that advance.

But they are aware that it would be the blindest credulity to believe, to its full extent, the idle exaggerations that have for some time past agitated the public mind. They forbear to express any opinion whatever as to the *immediate* cause that wrought the present excitement, but deplore the evils that may result from the scisms which have taken place in

consequence; they feel, and deeply feel, the necessity that there is for the existence of some medium through which public opinion can be ascertained and wielded with effect against the irregularities of those whose disregard to the laws of the country has destroyed the mutual confidence as well as the mutual respect between them and their fellow-citizens of the Mexican Republic, inasmuch as the misconduct of a few *designing men* is attributed to the *whole* community, and construed into disaffection to the General Government.

They are by no means of opinion, while making their own feelings their standard, that the whole of Texas generally cherish a hostile disposition to Mexicans or to the Mexican Government when administered on its constitutional principles.

They are voluntarily citizens of the same republic; have sworn to support the same constitution; and are by inclination and interest, as well as the most solemn obligation, bound to cherish & sustain the liberal and free institutions of this Republic.

In the present confused state of things, they can devise no better mode of meeting the exigencies of the times than by an *assemblage of delegates from each municipality*, at San Felipe, or some other central place, whose duty it shall be to act in council for the people, and in concert with the executive power still existing in Texas, in providing for the general welfare of a misrepresented but a determined people.

To effect which object, this meeting appointed a committee of address with instructions to submit its views to the committee of safety, for revisal and approbation, and that the said committee should send a copy to the Ayuntamiento of each Municipality in the Department of Brazos, requesting their co-operation in the plan of sending delegates, as

we have before suggested, and their union in the common objects of safety and general defense of the constitutional rights.

HENRY P. HILL,  
THOS. J. GAZLEY,  
*Committee of Address.*

MINA MEETING (JULY 5).<sup>5</sup>

At a meeting of the committee of safety of this date, the following were among the resolutions adopted: The preceding address having been submitted, it was

*Resolved*, That the same receive the approbation of this committee, and be circulated according to the resolutions of the people.

At the same meeting was presented the proceedings of a public meeting, held in the Jurisdiction of Columbia, and upon reading and deliberating upon the same, this committee—

*Resolved*, That the committee approve the Columbia resolutions, and of the proceedings of that meeting generally—and that this resolution be appended to the circular addressed to the municipalities.

By order of the Committee.

D. C. BARRETT, *President.*

GONZALES COMMITTEE OF SAFETY TO THE MINA  
COMMITTEE.<sup>6</sup>

William J. Fisher, President of the Committee of Safety of Gonzales, writing to the Committee of Mina, July 4, 1835, says that they have received information from Mr. Gritten, who is just from Mexico, that Mexican sentiment is very friendly to Texas. He has the latest Mexican papers, and

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<sup>5</sup> From the *Texas Republican*, July 18, 1835.

<sup>6</sup> From the *Texas Republican*, July 18, 1835.

these manifest a friendly spirit. If troops are ordered to Texas, it will be simply to crush trouble that might arise on the arrest of the land speculators.

The communication continues: "In the present attitude of affairs.....it appears to this committee to be a matter of vital importance that a *Convention* be immediately called..... The committee are of opinion that it is most expedient that the call for a convention should be made by the municipality of Mina; and it is the opinion of the committee that by dispatching runners to the different municipalities a convention might be called together in 15 or twenty days; ..... It is also the opinion of this committee that the place appointed for the meeting of the convention should be without the bounds of the San Felipe Junto."

"ADDRESS OF R. M. WILLIAMSON, CHAIRMAN OF THE MEETING AT SAN FELIPE, JUNE 22, 1835."<sup>7</sup>

*To the People of Texas:*

*"United we stand, divided we fall."*

The undersigned as Chairman of the Meeting of San Felipe, held on the 22nd ult. to consider of the situation of Texas, and the means to be adopted for the public safety, has been instructed to address you in explanation of the views of that meeting, and of the situation in which they consider the country to be now placed. For my own part, I have no desire to appear before you, expressing my individual opinions, and I speak to you not only my own sentiments and feelings, but those of a meeting respectable alike for its numbers and the individuals composing it. What I shall say, I religiously believe, and what that meeting did was induced solely from disinterested and patriotic motives. I have been your fellow-citizen for years and you cannot

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<sup>7</sup> From a circular: Lamar Papers.

believe that I am influenced by speculation. On the honor of a man, I assure you that I have all to lose and nothing to gain by the disturbances of our country; and I am in no way connected with the speculation or the speculators. Fellow-Citizens: You are in the midst of a revolution that threatens your destruction, and without knowing it, you stand on a precipice that crumbles beneath you, and threatens to precipitate you in the abiss below. You are lulled to sleep in the belief that speculation has created the present excitement. But be entreated no longer to indulge in this dangerous belief, but to examine for yourselves the true situation of affairs. Examine for yourselves the late movements of the general government. Look into their ulterior designs as avowed by congress, & you will perceive that so far from speculation having anything to do with the present subject that the troops of the genrl. Government are on their march to Texas, for the purpose of compelling you to either leave the country or submit to an imperial government with strong military stations in your country to awe and keep you in subjection.

Your republican form of government is broken down, your state authorities have by the military been driven from the exercise of their constitutional duties, and detain in custody the Governor of your State, and of your choice. Not only in Coahuila has this arbitrary and despotic course been pursued, but other states of the federation mourn the loss of their constitutions and their liberties, and at this moment the proud and gallant & republican State of Zacatecas mourns the loss of two thousand citizens, slain in battle by the troops of Gen. Santa Anna, and the survivors now endure the galling chains of military rule. Durango and other states have fallen beneath the rule of military power, and every state and province of the Mexican Republic (excepting Texas) have submitted to the Dictator.

How this state of things came about I will endeavor faith-

fully to explain to you, and if I willfully mistake a single fact, may I forever after be branded with infamy among you. To understand you must first know that the form of Government is virtually altered, and that another form is about to be established in its stead, and at this time Gen. Santa Anna, instead of being your President, has been invested by the general congress with the absolute powers of the Dictator. Elected President by the Republican Party; he no sooner took his seat than he threw off the veil of disguise, and to the amazement and consternation of the Republican Party, he exhibited himself the friend and supporter of the aristocrats and defender of the Clergy. His first step was to call into power and place in office, the Old Aristocrats the sworn enemies of a republican form of Government, and to drive from his councils those who had elected him, and who had proven themselves the true and devoted friends of the Constitution.

Among these are the ever true and gallant and devoted Republicans, Gen. Mexia, and Governor Zavala. The party now in power is formed by the junction of the Aristocracy and Clergy with the remains of the Old Spaniards. Their policy and their interests and the accomplishment of their most ardent wishes are founded in the destruction of the Federal system. On this depends their existence as a party, the firm establishment of their power and their continuance as privileged classes in opposition to the fundamental principles of a liberal system founded on equality of rights; already has that party in congress through their committees declared: "*That the constitution requires a radical reform; that the only [clause] which remains inviolable is the one which declares for intolerance of religious feeling and established privileged classes in a State, which founds its principles on the inviolable and noble basis of equality*" and after making the declaration that the constitution should be altered, the same congress declares that "*It has the right of al-*

tering the Constitution at its pleasure without pursuing the formalities required by that instrument" and in continuance of the plan of operations General Santa Anna is invested with the powers of a Dictator and at this moment has all the power of a despot, and only now requires a diadem on his brow to obliterate the name of liberty from the Mexican code.

To all these invasions of the sovereignty of the States the people would in all probability have submitted had not the aristocracy made the last final blow at their liberties and lighted the flame of civil war; the civil Militia had at all times previously proven the sure and safe bulwark of the liberties of the people and attempt of Guerrero and Bustamante to destroy the constitution had been manfully and successfully resisted by them. Against this body the congress struck a deadly blow and passed a law disbanding them, and permitting only one gun to be retained in the hands of every five hundred men in the country, and requiring the States to surrender all the surplus arms to the general government.

To this decree many of the states submitted, but others resisted it, knowing that to deliver up their arms was to deliver themselves over to an aristocracy whose object was plainly a monarchy. Among the states resisting were Zacatecas, Durango, Chihuahua, Chiapas, and Coahuila and Texas. The Legislature of Coahuila and Texas in addressing the General Government in regard to the change of Government and creation of a Dictator, says: *For those reasons the State of Coahuila and Texas legitimately represented by its legislature, PROTEST in the most solemn manner that having confederated by virtue of the Fundamental compact, and under the basis which in it is established does not acknowledge nor will not acknowledge the measures and provisions which emanate from the General Congress, if they are not regularly in conformity with the provisions and requisites which it prescribes in said articles, nor*

will admit of any other reforms of the constitution than such as are subjected to the course which it requires," and in regard to the disbanding of the Civic Militia the same Legislature declares: "The Civic Militia in all the republic are reduced, or more properly speaking, the only bulwark of liberty, and the rights of the people are destroyed. The General Government which should put its attention to the revolutions of the South, prepares an expedition of troops against a pacific state, such as is Zacatecas, that has given so many days of glory to the Nation, by brideling arbitrary powers and abuses. The Commander General of the Internal States of the East, intervening in the interior administration of the State of Coahuila and Texas, in the most scandalous manner, even to the dictating of orders to prevent Laws made by the Legislature being complied with, moving the troops from the places which they guard on the frontier, and where they are necessary to protect the inhabitants from the barbarous Indians, and is bringing them towards this capital in order without doubt to suppress the supreme authorities. The General Government to whom this body have applied to curtail these abuses, and advances of the military authority, preserve a profound silence in this delicate affair, so that everything indicates the dangerous road we are travelling in, and which, should there not be every degree of reflection, prudence, and mildness of procedure, we shall again be involved in all the disasters of a civil war and the misfortunes consequent upon it even more afflicting and terrifying than any which have preceded."

To compell obedience and reduce these states to submission, Santa Ana on the 18th day of April last marched from the city of Mexico at the head of *six thousand men*. His first attack was on the gallant, patriotic and Republican State of Zacatecas whose citizens he defeated in battle, and making prisoner the Governor, and dispersing the congress, garrisons the whole country with strong garrisons; the same

fate is nearly sustained by Durango, and from being a free and sovereign State, she is reduced, under the power of the dictator to a military garrison. While this state of things was going on in Zacatecas and Durango, General Cos was ordered to put down the authorities of Coahuila and Texas. The Governor sent an order to all departments of the state for the Militia to turn out to sustain the authorities of the state, but not receiving sufficient aid, he attempted to escape with the public archives to Texas, in order there to reëstablish the government and where he expected to be sustained by a people who have ever been free and who he confidently expected would rally to sustain the constitution they had sworn to support, and the public officers they had elected. In his flight, however, he was arrested by the Military under the order of General Cos, and has been sent a prisoner to Monterey. Not only has he been arrested, but some of the members of congress; the others having fled for safety to the mountains. The Militia of Coahuila have been disbanded and have surrendered up their arms to the Government and that whole country is now a military garrison. All the states have succumbed to the power of the military and as Texas is the only spot unconquered, Santa Ana is marching his troops here to compel a submission to the new Government. And the people have to determine whether they also will yield to the power of the Dictator. Give up their arms; suffer their country to be garrisoned with strong military posts, and live under the rule and sway of the military. They must do this or they must prepare for war; they must submit to the military government or they must defend their province and their rights with the sword and the bayonet, and they must do this without delay for the enemy is fast advancing on our country.

Fellow-Citizens, Let me again assure you that this is the true state of affairs. These the reasons that actuate the General Government. The sale of the four hundred leagues of

land has nothing to do with the subject. You are justly indignant at that sale, so also am I, so also is the meeting which I represent; but that can and ought to have no weight with the public mind at this time. It is too inconsiderable to be noticed when compared to the importance of our country, our property, our liberty and our lives; which are involved in the present contest between the states and the military. Two spies from Colonel Ugartechea, stationed at San Antonio were arrested at San Felipe, and in their possession the official correspondence of Ugartechea and General Cos was found. General Cos writes to the commandant at Anahuac that the two companies of New Leon, and the Morales Battalion would sail immediately for Texas and that they would be followed by another strong force, which he had solicited the government for, and which he had no doubt would be obtained. Col. Ugartechea says that the business of Texas will be soon regulated, as the government has ordered a large division composed of the troops that were sent against Zacatecas, to Texas and which are now at Saltillo; that force is three thousand four hundred men.

For what Fellow-Citizens, are they coming, in the name of GOD say not speculation; they are coming to compell you into obedience to the new form of Government; to compell you to give up your arms; to compell you to have your country garrisoned; to compell you to liberate your slaves; to compell you to swear to support and sustain the government of the Dictator; to compell you to submit to the imperial rule of the aristocracy, to pay tithes and adoration to the clergy. For these purposes, Fellow-Citizens, they are coming, and for this purpose a party of soldiers, it is said, have already landed at Copano. Under the excitement created by all this information, many of the people of the jurisdiction of Austin, during court week, assembled to consider of the condition of the country, and of the adoption of means for its protection. A declaration to support the General and

State constitutions and the officers of the state was unanimously agreed to, and so it was resolved to release the governor and drive the military from San Antonio.

Much pains has been taken to persuade you that this meeting was gotten up by Speculators, and that no necessity existed for it. But, Fellow Citizens, believe no such slanders, pay regard to no such falsehoods. At the first meeting held in which it was resolved that the country was in danger and that the Governor should be released, James B. Miller, the Political Chief was Chairman; and in his official character, he called on the people of his department to turn out for that purpose. At the second meeting were many of your oldest fellow citizens, who can have no views of speculation but who all unanimously, upon investigation, declared the country was in danger and that no time should be lost in preparing for war; the Alcade and Ayuntamiento of Austin were of the same opinion, and ordered a turn out of the people to protect the country. There were at the meeting many persons from the jurisdictions of Mina and Matagorda, all of whom believed that no time was to be lost in preparing for war. The meeting at San Felipe had no desire to dictate to the balance of the community or to involve it in war; the only reason why the meeting at San Felipe first acted was because at that place the news of danger was first received and the danger appeared too imminent to admit of delay. Every matter of importance has to be brought about by the action of a few. The whole people never have moved at once in a body. It is only by meetings in different places that the sense of the country can be ascertained. The meeting at San Felipe commenced the matter, and I hope that meetings will be held in every part of the province, to determine what shall be done. But that meeting resolved that San Antonio should be taken, and for these reasons: They considered that the Question of war was settled. That forces were coming against Texas and in a very short time

all Texas would have to turn out and fight ; that opinion we still entertain, and still think that San Antonio should be taken. The citizens of that place have at this time the messenger among us requesting our assistance to drive the military from that place in order that they may unite with us in the common cause of protecting the country. By taking that place we would procure one hundred and sixty stands of muskets, many cannon and much ammunition, and also about eight hundred head of horses, belonging to the government and which we indispensably require for the protection of the country. But, fellow citizens of Texas, other weighty and important reasons exist why that place should be taken ; should you permit San Antonio to remain in the hands of the enemy your country is lost. Five hundred troops can so fortify San Antonio as to resist the united attack of all Texas. In that situation they have only to send out their parties of men and harass and destroy the country, without ever coming to a pitched battle ; they will so annoy and harrass the country by continual depredations and alarms that wearied out, dispirited, and disheartened, the people will gladly retreat beyond the Sabine. When you least expect it they will descend upon you and call you from your fields to Battle and before you can rally, they will kill and burn and destroy. In the depths of winter they will call you by their depredations to the field, and a thousand attacks and a thousand false alarms will destroy your patience and your property and make your country not worth contending for. But if possible even worse than all this, you permit an enemy to be there stationed that will send the Indians continually upon you.

Inhabitants of the Frontier: Your situation will be deplorable ; instigated and protected by the Mexicans, the Indians will be your constant enemies ; they will be the continued ravagers of your country and destroyers of yourselves. If you drive them from your neighborhood, they will seek

refuge and protection under the troops of San Antonio, and will retire only to return with renewed violence and destruction. You will hear around your habitations the Indian yell mingling with the Mexican cry, and the shrieking of your murdered wives rousing the slumbers of the cradle from the midst of your burning dwellings will tell you, when too late of the error to your policy in permitting San Antonio to be garrisoned by Mexican troops. Fellow Citizens, depend upon it your policy is wrong and the danger great. If you would save the country and protect the frontier, San Antonio must be taken; already has Anahuac fallen; already has the spies of the country been arrested and the correspondence examined; already have you proceeded too far to retreat; already are the troops of the Dictator on the march against you, and you have to fight, surrender, or run away. There will be no necessity for your garrisoning San Antonio, once drive off the military, and the inhabitants of that place will protect and defend the place. The Mexican inhabitants are a force sufficiently effective for this purpose, but permit the reinforcements to arrive there, and the citizens will be disarmed and you will lose the co-operation and assistance of that whole department.

Fellow Citizens, by taking San Antonio you will also secure the person of Don Ramon Musquiz the Vice Governor, he has expressed his willingness to act provided the Colonists will sustain him, but he dares not attempt it so long as San Antonio is in the possession of the enemy. What can you do, or will you do, unless you bring him into the colonies and re-establish the government. At this time your Courts of Justice are closed, you have no head to direct you, and you are in a state of anarchy and confusion. You can only remedy this by securing the Vice Governor and re-establishing the Government. Unless you do this in less than one month everything will be in disorder and you will

have no security for your persons and property, except the strength of your arms.

Three-fourths of the people are new comers and have as yet received no titles to their lands, the last legislature passed a law decreeing that every person in Texas should receive their land, but before the commissioners were appointed the Governor was arrested.

In what manner are these citizens to get the titles to their lands. The intention and policy of the present ruling authorities of the nation is to destroy the system of colonization and so soon as the military become possessed of Texas that soon will the last league of land be given to North Americans, instead of receiving the titles they will be declared foreigners and driven from the land; there is but one possible way of avoiding this result and that is by taking St. Antonio, bringing the Vice Governor here in order that Commissioners may be appointed to put the people in possession of their lands.

Citizens of Texas, you who have not yet received your titles must be up and doing; the taking of St. Antonio is important to you inasmuch as no governor can be had until it is taken, and until you have a Governor you can obtain no land; and depend upon it if you would secure your land, you must do it ere the military become masters of the country.

*Fellow Citizens of Texas,* our interests are common, and no possible reason can exist for a difference of opinion. We may differ as to the mode to be pursued but one sentiment can pervade every breast; which is the safety and protection of our country. Let us by all means harmonize and act in concert, for it is only in union that we are strong, only united can we succeed. Let us no longer sleep in our posts, let us resolve to prepare for War; and resolve to defend our country against the danger that threatens it. A sacrifice has to be made. Let us sacrifice a portion at once. In order

to secure the remainder. Already we can almost hear the bugles of our enemies; already have some of them landed on our coast; and you must prepare to fight. Liberty or Death should be our determination and let us one and all unite to protect our country from all invasion, and not lay down our arms so long as a soldier is seen in our limits.

R. M. WILLIAMSON.

SAN FELIPE, July 4th 1835.

F. C. Gray, Printer, Brazoria.

SAN FELIPE MEETING (July 14).

At a large and respectable meeting of the citizens of the Jurisdiction in the town of San Felipe on the 14th inst. pursuant to a call of the Political Chief

Major Jesse Bartlett was called to the chair, and Thomas R. Jackson elected Secretary.

A committee of five persons were chosen to draft resolutions to be submitted to the meeting; namely; Martin Allen, J. Urban, J. R. Jones, Joshua Fletcher, and C. B. Stewart

.....  
The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

1. *Resolved*, that this meeting view with the deepest regret the excitement which it is believed has been precipitately produced in these colonies, and that the meeting disapprobates all hostile proceedings which may have been made for offensive operations against the government.

2. *Resolved*, that this meeting earnestly desire peace and tranquility, and that it recommend to the people a quiet submission to the constitution, laws, and proper authorities of the country.

3. *Resolved*, that owing to the alarming situation of the colonies, it is necessary that the colonists organize and be prepared for defensive operations.

3 [4]. *Resolved*, that this meeting recommend unanimity

and concert of action to their fellow-citizens on this highly important occasion.

5. *Resolved*, that the affairs of Texas has approached a crisis which requires a consultation of all her citizens in their respective capacity and that we therefore recommend a meeting of the same in General Council.

6. *Resolved*, that a committee of 3 be elected to confer with the committee from Columbia & other committees with full power to call a meeting of all the citizens of Texas in representative capacity in general council, and to adopt such other measures as they deem best calculated to promote the general interest of Texas.

7. *Resolved*, that we concur heartily in unanimity of purpose & feeling with the resolutions of the meeting of the Jurisdiction of Columbia, and that we invite the citizens of the other Jurisdictions of this department to concur with us in the adoption of measures tending to the same end.

In conformity with the sixth resolution, J. R. Jones, J. W. Kinney, and A. Somerville were elected to compose that committee.

JESSE BARTLETT, *Chairman,*  
T. R. JACKSON, *Secretary.*

SAN FELIPE, DE AUSTIN, *July 14, 1835.*

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE SAN FELIPE COMMITTEE.<sup>8</sup>

COMMITTEE ROOM, SAN FELIPE, *Sept. 13th, 1835.*

The undersigned, a Committee of correspondence and vigilance, appointed by a very large and general Meeting of the citizens of the Jurisdiction of Austin, convened at this place on the 12th inst., have the honor to transmit to you, in pursuance of the duties assigned them, a copy of the resolutions adopted by said meeting, in order that you will lay

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<sup>8</sup> From *The Texas Republican*, September 19, 1835.

them before the people of that section of the country, and solicit their co-operation.

This Committee deem it entirely unnecessary to enter into a long statement of facts to show why a general consultation of all Texas is indispensable, for the reason that the present crisis is so evident and alarming, that no one appears to doubt it.

This necessity seems to be so evident and pressing, that a general consultation of Texas, with full and unlimited power to organize a local Government under the constitution of 1824, has been advocated by many instead of a consultation. But it is considered that this is a step that cannot safely be adopted with any certainty of unanimity by any district or Municipality.

Such a measure and the necessary rules and regulations for directing elections and apportioning the representation equally, according to the population. The place where, and the time when the convention ought to meet; and other important details can only be determined by all Texas met in general consultation. The measures which may be adopted by such General Consultation will carry with them the weight of being the *voice* of all Texas instead of the *opinion* of a few. They will be the result of calm discussion and of a full and mature deliberation and examination into the true situation of the country, and cannot fail to produce unanimity at home, respect and confidence abroad.

This Committee deem it to be important that the just and legal rights of the civilized Indians should be protected, but not having any certain information on the subject, they can only recommend it to your consideration.

Some diversity of opinion has existed as to the place where the proposed consultation should meet. This place and Washington have been proposed. The meeting of yesterday have preferred this place for the reason that there is a printing press here. The most important public records

are here, and the principal political authority of the department resides here. This question will of course be decided by the wishes of the majority, for which reason it is important that you will communicate to this Committee what are the wishes of the people of that section on this point.

This Committee must beg of you to communicate without delay with the people of Red River, in Pecan Point country, and request them to send members to the proposed General Consultation. They are in Texas and their interests and rights are identified with those of all Texas.

This committee in conclusion recommend that the delegation from each district, bring with them an exact census of the population, and return of the Militia from their districts to lay before the General Consultation.

Very respectfully,  
[Signature clipped off].

#### MEETING AT SAN FELIPE.<sup>9</sup>

In pursuance of previous public notice, a large and highly respectable meeting of the citizens of the Jurisdiction of Austin convened at Johnson & Winburn's tavern, in San Felipe, on the 12th inst., when Col. Stephen F. Austin was elected Chairman, and Patrick C. Jack appointed Secretary.

The Chairman then explained the object of the meeting, and read several official communications from Col. Domingo de Ugartechea, and from Col. Martin Perfecto de Cos. He then at large expressed his views of the Political state of the Republic of Mexico, of the present situation of Texas, and of the course which it should pursue under the pressing emergencies of the times, and concluded by urging the absolute necessity of a Consultation of all Texas, by means of delegates elected by the people.

After which Capt. Randel Jones introduced the following

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<sup>9</sup> From *The Texas Republican*, September 19, 1835.

resolutions, which upon motion of Capt. Wyly Martin were read separately and upon being submitted to the meeting were unanimously adopted.

*Resolved*, 1st. That we will support the constitution of the Mexican Republic of 1824, to which we have solemnly obligated ourselves.

*Resolved*, 2nd. That we recommend a consultation chosen by the people.

*Resolved*, 3rd. That we recommend each Jurisdiction to elect five members to meet in San Felipe on the 15th of October next.

*Resolved*, 4th. That a committee of vigilance and safety for the Jurisdiction of Austin, be appointed to order and superinte[n]d the election for delegates of this Jurisdiction, and to correspond with the committees of the other Jurisdictions.

*Resolved*, 5th. That the Ayuntamiento of Austin be requested to correspond with those parts of Texas which may have addressed it on the subject of a consultation of Texas.

In pursuance of the 4th resolution the meeting then proceeded to the election of members of the committee of Vigilance and Safety. Whereupon Capt. Wiley Martin, Colonel William Pettus, Gail Borden, Jr., John H. Money, Randel Jones, and Stephen F. Austin were unanimously elected.

*Resolved*, that the proceedings of this meeting be sent to the press at Brazoria, for publication, and to the other Jurisdictions of Texas.

On motion, W. B. Travis, Esq. it was

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this meeting be voted to the Chairman and Secretary.

And then the meeting adjourned.

S. F. AUSTIN, *Chairman.*

PATRICK C. JACK, *Secretary.*

## A SOUTHERN TRAVELER'S DIARY, 1840.

BY WILLIAM H. WILLS.

(Continued.)

### HABIT OF SWEARING.

The company on our boat was agreeable and so far am very much pleased with the western people, but for the profane and seemingly thoughtless habit of swearing their conduct was very correct. On the boat I met Mr. Corpew [?] formerly of Halifax returning to Miss. with his wife having

### WHEELING TO CINCINNATI.

recently married in Virginia. We left Wheeling at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  p. m. Monday and by six o'clock Wednesday morning the 8th we were in Cincinnati.

Finding the Pensacola intended going on [to] Louisville I took passage on her again for the latter place and hence did not remove my baggage. I had attempted to write while coming down but found the influence of the high pressure engines made the boat shake so badly that I had to abandon it.\* So directly after breakfast I set down to write to my dear precious wife. This pleasing duty performed I took my letter and depositing it in the P. O. took a stroll to view the city. It reminds me very much of Balt. being built on a hill

### CINCINNATI, COVINGTON, NEWPORT.

and kept clean and neat. Some of the residences are very handsome and here I found the first signs of life in nature in the West. Among other places I visited the Market, the beef

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\*The first six lines of this journal are in ink, in a trembling, uncertain hand, evidently written on the boat. The rest is in pencil, probably written afterwards.

was very fine and a motley group were here, Germans, Dutch, Irish, Americans, pigs squealing, calves bleating, horses neighing, chickens, eggs, hogs, lambs. Cincinnati is a thrifty and constantly improving place of 40,000 inhabitants and about 30 Churches which tells well for the morals of the city, being a little over 1,300 to every church. Opposite Cincin: stands Covington and Newport on the Ky. shore which are considerable manufacturing places of from 2,000 to 3,000 inhabitants each.

#### THE BEAUTIFUL OHIO.

At 12½ p. m. ding, dong, dell—and again we are off on the now becoming lovely Ohio.—Having heard two or three interpretations to the name of this river and State and made some enquiries relative to its origin—The French used to call it (“La belle”) “O! how beautiful”—but the tradition runs that ere it rec’d its name an Indian was chased by a party of another tribe and running fast he came suddenly upon the banks of this stream, and not before being aware of its existence he stopped, and throwing up his head in true Indian style, and exclaimed in his own gutteral tone; “uh-heigh-ho”—hence the name Ohio—The name of the state of course is taken from that of the river—Fifteen miles below Cincinnati we came to the North bend, now celebrated as the residence of Gen<sup>l</sup> Harrison, beside his own are a few

#### HARRISON’S LOG CABIN.

other dwellings & is indeed a pretty spot—It is high & yet not mountainous, rather undulating for perhaps a mile &  $\frac{1}{2}$  & then comes the high hills.—Gen<sup>l</sup> H! dwelling is 1½ story or 2 story building with a wing on each hand, and it is said that the centre building is composed of logs, hence the cognomen by which he is known, the “log Cabin Candidate.” I find the people through all this country most enthusiastic in his favour and “Harrison & hard Cider”—is all the go. If

there are any Van Buren men they hardly dare to make themselves heard. About 20 ms. below Cincin. commences

#### SOME INDIANA TOWNS.

the coast of Indiana along which are a great many farms, Villages and Towns, but I saw but one or two of the latter that seemed to be in a flourishing Condition. Madison abo 90 ms. from Cin—being one and New Albany some 45 ms. further being another and perhaps I might add Evansville 175 ms. further the first of these looks very flourishing with 1500 inhabs & the second as many or more and is quite a manufacturing & steam boat building place.—

#### LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY.

Thursday 9. In the morning I found myself at Louisville Ky.—having arrd there some part of the night previous.—Louisville is a place of considerable trade but probably has not improved much of late years. They have recently had an extensive fire there which has done them material injury having destroyed some of their best buildings—The Town Contains about 14,000 inhabitants and has been a place of great trade in peltries.—I had not much opportunity of seeing the places.—After breakfast I began to look

#### MISSISSIPPI BOATS; 300 OF THEM.

around among the numerous Steam Boats lying at the wharf for one to take me to Vicksburg. There were but three that were advertised for N. Orleans, one of them had not arr'd and the others was lying 3 ms. below town, the 3rd was a very neat, trim boat called the "Buckeye"—I went on board her and found the Capt. Thompson a very clever & gentlemanly man. On enquiry from others she was recommended as a strong and fast running boat, but was informed at the same time that she had once blown up.—This rather deterred me, but on reflection came to the conclusion that she was

probably not the less safe in consequence, holding the old adage true in regard to her, that a "burnt child dreads the fire,"—and having once experienced such a disaster her officers would be the more careful, especially as the same Capt. was on her. This disaster occurred sometime last year, the engineer having gone to sleep, and five persons (hands) were destroyed, the Capt. was blown high in air and thrown on the bank of the river and yet—the somewhat hurt was not killed—In regard to *safety* of the boats on the western waters I have come to the conclusion that all are equally safe that are sound and in good order, and all equally unsafe and dangerous, reasoning thus: When a boat gets out alone she will generally be careful and safe, but if two or more start together the excitement is apt to produce a spirit of emulation, and hence they put more steam than their engines or prudence would authorise. And when we consider the vast number of boats (abt 300) plying on the Ohio & Miss: waters we are rather surprised that more casualties do not occur. They are probably becoming more and more careful every day as the feelings of the community are aroused against them. On the Buck Eye then at 10 o'clock we left

#### ON TO THE MOUTH OF THE OHIO.

Louisville with 12 to 15 Passengers. Two miles below L. are the "falls"—which in low water are impassible and boats go through the canal cut around them. The water was high enough for us to go over and a splendid sight to see the boat buffeting the waves tumbling over an immense reef of rocks. Below the falls we were detained by freight &c 4 hours and at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 2 got well under weigh—250 miles from Louisville brought us to the mouth of the Wabash River about 4 p. m. o'clock on Friday dividing Indiana from Illinois on the right, old Kaintuck still holding on to the left.—The country now begins to assume a different appearance presenting a low flat, marshy soil which is continued for some miles back

into the interior.—Illinois has not a single Town on the coast of any importance either as to size or thrift Shawneetown abt. 12 ms. below the Wabash is an old and immproved [sic] place. Some miles below here the Cumberland & Tennessee Rivers flow into the Ohio from the South these rivers we passed in the night.

CAIRO, ILLINOIS.

Saturday 11th—about 8 o'clock a. m. we came in sight of the junction of the Ohio & Miss: rivers. On the Illinois shore, in the point they are attempting to build a *City* under the name of Cairo. They have two or three good brick buildings a few wooden framed ones and a quantity of Cabins. The ground is so low however that they have thrown up mounds on which some of the houses are built, and the whole place is overflowed by both rivers in high water. Pretty place truly for a Town! O speculation like bigotry thou hast no heart with which to feel for another's woes. At this place our boat rounded too to put out a mail and take in some freight and about 9 o'clock we entered in full sweep the noble Mississippi. Appropriate indeed is the

THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

name (literally Father of Waters)—for rising in the rocky mountains far beyond all others, it makes every stream in the west its tributary and finally empties itself by an hundred mouths into the Gulf of Mexico.—At the junction, I do not think the Miss. more than  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile wide which gradually widens.—There is a peculiarity attendant upon the river owing to the impetuosity of the current and the nature of the soil along its banks, the ground is continually giving way and breaking off from the main land sinks into the river. Often large quantities of land are undermined in this way containing trees of enormous growth, these embedding themselves in the river form the snags and sawyers so dangerous

to navigation in this river. Snags are trees that fall in this tree [sic] and these remain permanently fixed, while sawyers are trees whose roots become embedded and their branches rise and fall with the current, hence called saw-

#### NEW MADRID AND ABOUT.

yers.—Some 75 miles below the junction brought us to New Madrid on the Missouri shore. The boat having freight to put out there I went on shore and found five or six stores and a number of people soon collected at the river.—I entered into conversation with one who informed that he lived 3 or 4 miles in the interior, had 8 children, had been living there 10 yrs and never lost one. He likewise informed me that within the time he had known the river it had made an encroachment by undermining the banks an hundred yards, and that 30 feet of this had been done the present spring—New Madrid is a poor dirty looking place, wet and subject much of it to overflow, indeed this is a characteristic of the country bordering all along on the Miss—there are a good many huts and small farms along the coast nevertheless, but the principal improvements I learn are in the interior.—It is now Saturday night and have just written up

#### STEADY BOAT.

my journal at 9 o'clock. Our boat is steadily dashing away among the proud waves of the father of waters where the river is now 3 miles wide (abt. 120 ms. from the junction) I like my present boat much better than the Pensacola, only because however she is much more steady and permits me to read and write with great facility.—

#### TRUST IN THE LORD.

I now for the present lay aside my journal, and expecting soon to turn into my room, must commit myself to the care of Him who made me and the waters also. Yes it is the

Lord Jehovah that set the everlasting hills and gave the waters their commands. It is Him who once said “*be still*” and they obeyed His voice; it is Him who has also said that he would be around about his people from henceforth and forever more, and it is to Him that I confidently commit myself, my all.—Father of mercies let thy protecting arm be around me this night, be with my dear family far from me to-night! be with me in my wanderings, and bring us together again in safety and in peace. And O! when the tempests of life are all over bring us to the haven of eternal repose above. Amen.—

#### WEATHER ON RIVER.

Sunday 12th—on Friday night we had a hard wind and some rain which induced our boat to lay by perhaps two hours. Yesterday was nearly fair, but cool and last night a nother severe storm of wind, rain and lightning—this morning were a few light clouds passing, but in the course of the day all passed away, and left the sky very clear. Still it is cold, quite cold, even I think it would be for No. Ca. fires are kept up nearly all day, and I cannot remain on deck as much as I would wish. About 10 o'clock a. m. brought us

#### MEMPHIS, HELENA.

to Memphis, in the extreme corner of Tennessee, from an imperfect view of the place, it appears to be pleasantly situated on a tolerably high bluff, commencing about 150 yds from the river. I could not learn its population or much else in relation to it.—Between 5 and 6 p. m. our boat rounded to & stopt at Helena in Arkansas. I gladly availed myself of the privilege of going on shore to learn a little of the country. Helena is by far the handsomest and pleases me most of any place I have yet seen on the Miss: there is a gently rising ground from the river for 300 yds and then an abrupt bluff of perhaps an hundred feet high running

parallel with the river for several hundred yards. between this bluff & the river the Town is situated. There are probably 40 or 50 houses most of them small but painted and neatness characterises the place. there are some 400 inhabitants. I entered into a conversation with a gentleman who stated to me that he was a Virginian born & raised near Petersburg, that he had been living in the immediate vicinity of Helena 14 yrs had a family of several children, and had had no sickness of moment among any of them within that time. I was particularly struck with the appearance of the citizens nearly all of whom were healthy & fine looking persons. here we rec'd three passengers, one of them the handsomest lady I have seen West or South. I had not

#### OLD ACQUAINTANCES.

been on shore many minutes before a young man came up, and interrupting my conversation with the Virginian, "seem like" says he to me "I ought to know you"—"very likely" I replied "for I find acquaintances everywhere." "Ain't your name Wills?" said he—"Yes"—"My name is Dowten"—and sure enough he was an old acquaintance from No. Ca. Soon after stopping in Cincinnati, I accosted a man to make some inquiries in regard to a boat, & soon after he asked me if I was not a preacher? I replied in the affirmative, & he then said he knew me and had heard me preach. I could [not] recognize him nor was his name familiar to me, but I had no reason to doubt his word. If I wanted to run away I scarcely know what course I should bend my steps for every once in a while recognition takes place.

#### MIASMA.

Helena, like almost all other places on the Miss.—is located on low ground rather than on the bluffs and I have an universal reason given me, that the miasma arising in the fall from the water, ascends higher than the ground contiguous

to the river and falls upon the more elevated points, hence the latter are always considered more sickly than the former. I have already alluded to the peculiarity of the Miss.

#### RIVER ENCROACHMENTS; BENDS.

in making encroachments upon the land. One of the effects of this is to alter the current of the river and thereby form numerous islands, and there is almost a continuous succession of them from the Mouth of the Ohio as far as I have yet gone. Some of these islands are considerably inhabited and are very large. Wherever it encroaches on one side it fills up on the other, and the pilot of our boat pointed me to land  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile from shore, along which the main Current once ran and over which he has navigated a boat—These changes make numerous bends in the river, some of them very long. A few miles below Helena is what is called Horse-shoe bend, which is ten miles long and yet the distance across the point is but little more than 300 yards!—One or two others are said to be larger than this.—A little

#### PELICANS; DUCKS; ARKANSAS SHORE.

before night I saw a very large flock of Pelicans in the river not far from us. They were all white and was really an interesting sight—Wild ducks are also very numerous in the Ohio & Miss rivers.—The Arkansas shore is better improved, & better dwellings on it than the Mississippi, at least thus far.

#### WEATHER; SCENERY; LEVEEING.

Monday 13th—This morning is clear and serene, but still very cold I think for the season & this climate—I had almost expected Summer and yet we are hardly clear of winter. The trees however are very well clothed with verdure and the grass is springing up handsomely, the prospect is becoming more interesting and some of the islands

are beautiful the farther we go down, the lower the Country becomes and in many places the water is level with the bank, indeed in some places the former is higher than the land itself, and hence the system of Leveeing or embanking is extensively pursued from the Louisiana line down to New Orleans.—To-day I have passed many fine farms, the cotton is growing prettily and the corn from 6 inches to knee high—No villages of notice passed to-day except Princeton, Miss.—I find the mosquitoes very plenty wherever we have stopped to-day.—

#### VICKSBURG; FINANCES; WATER CRAFT.

Tuesday 14th.—Safely and securely I was landed at Vicksburg last night at 12 o'clock precisely, and by a little after one I was in Bed at Childers Hotel. We have either a very great change in the weather, or because I am in a more southern latitude. I presume both, to-day it is as warm as ever have it in No. Ca. during any time in May. I have just come in from walking, and after resting a little, have thrown off my coat & set down to my journal, handk'f in hand to wipe the perspiration.—I stopt to-day here to make my future arrangements, and to wash up a little.—I have taken a good view of the Town particularly from the Cupola of the Court house. At the river commences an ascent which runs back for perhaps a mile and an half. The highest point is probably 200 feet above the surface of the river. On this ascent Vicksburg is built, and is really a handsome and romantic situation. I had scarcely supposed that there was such a spot in Miss.—The place contains between 4 & 5000 inhabitants and I should think well located for business. At this time however the south and more particularly Miss. is in an awful condition in relation to money matters.—Notwithstanding this there are numerous arrivals and departures of Steam Boats, and from my window having a good view of the harbor I have witnessed

perhaps a dozen that have gone & come in to-day. On the Miss. & Ohio they have a kind of flat boat, somewhat like the boats on Tar river only covered. I saw hundreds of these floating down, & and these and steam boats are the only species of Craft used on these streams. It is the united testimony of all whom I have heard speak of it that Vicksburg is one of the healthiest Towns on the river, and perhaps in the Southern Country. The streets & many of the private lots are very filthy. If attention was paid to this matter I should be of the same opinion as far as my observation has gone, and should really be very much pleased with the place. The trees have their foliage pretty well grown, the gardens look beautiful and vegetables are plenty, at least some of them. They have peas I understand, but have not seen any myself.—Some of the private residences are handsomely and tastefully decorated with trees and flowers. Roses and Multiflora are in their glory and ladies walking the streets having summer dresses on. I think we may expect rain soon.—

One objection (among others) to Vicksburg is the tendency of the earth to wash, Hence numerous gullies are cut by the heavy rains which often fall in the South. I observed some of the houses contiguous to the river had to be supported else they would have fallen. This defect I presume might be remedied by having the streets paved—

#### RAYMOND; MUD; BAD ROADS.

On Wednesday 15th left Vicksburg at 6 o'clock a. m. on R. Road to Raymond distance 36 miles where I arr'd at 9 o'clock. I was surprised to find the section of Country over which the R. R. passes much broken, indeed it is quite hilly and almost mountainous. these hills are represented as being very productive, but the Country is so subject to washing I apprehend a few years Cultivation will destroy

or materially injure the Soil. I have now fairly gotten into a muddy country of which I have heard much. A slight rain this morning has made the streets so slippery that it is very bad walking. Raymond is the County Seat of Hinds County and is in a state of improvement. At least has been. There are a few good houses here & the Court house is quite a genteel building. Breakfasting in Raymond I left

#### HIGH RATES; CLINTON; LIVINGSTON.

here at 10 o'clock in stage for Clinton, 8 miles & got there over a bad road by 12 o'clock. I have reason to exult in having travelled from home to Vicksburg so cheaply, but I have now as good reason for complaining on the other hand of the exorbitancy of the charges. Thus on the R. R. I paid four dols. & from R. to Clinton two dols. or 25c per mile! Clinton is one of the numerous villages started up in the palmy days of Miss. and which like many others are destined to sink into decay. There are several good buildings here but are shut up, & many in a state of dilapidation. I stopt at a miserable Tavern, and got a miserable dinner, of which I ate but little, and leaving my Trunk and borrowing a pair of saddle bags & hiring horse at two 50-100 dolls. pr day, prepared to penetrate into the interior. 18 miles from Clinton I found myself in the evening at Livingston in Madison County, which if possible is a dirtier place & less accommodation than Clinton. Here I staid all night,

#### DOGS; RICH LANDS.

and such growling and barking and fighting among the dogs that I could scarcely sleep. I find Miss. almost overrun with dogs, certainly in larger numbers than anywhere else I have ever seen. Not finding at L. the person I desired to see, thursday morning I rode 5 miles farther where I saw the gentleman sought for. From here I rode to "Society Ridge"—& stopt at Mrs. Cottens. I find through this coun-

ty some of the finest lands I have ever seen & calculated probably to yield as much as any lands in the U. S. But alas! to such condition are the people reduced in money af-

#### RUINOUS, DEMORALIZING SPECULATION.

fairs.—Speculation, speculation, has been making poor men rich and rich men princes; men of no capital, in three years have become wealthy and those of *some* have grown to hundreds of thousands.—But as great as are the resources of Miss; and as valuable as are her lands, yet there were limits to both and these limits have been passed, lost sight of & forgotten as things having no existence. A revulsion has taken place, Miss: is ruined, her rich men are poor and her poor men beggars. Millions on millions have been speculated on and gambled away by banking, by luxury, and too much prosperity until of all the States in the Union she has become much the worst. We have hard times in No. Ca.; hard times in the east, hard times everywhere, but Miss: exceeds them all. Some of the finest lands in Madison & Hinds Counties may now be bought for comparatively nothing. Those that once commanded from thirty to fifty dolls. pr acre, may now be bought for three to five dollars and that with considerable improvements, while many have been sold at sheffs. Sales at fifty cents that were considered worth ten to Twenty dolls.—The people too are running their negroes to Texas & to Alabama, and leaving their real est. & perishable property to be sold or rather sacrificed. In the community where I am, it may probably be said that *not one man in fifty*, are solvent and probably less a number than this, but what are more or less involved. So great is the panic and so dreadful the distress that there are a great many farms prepared to receive Crops & some of them actually planted, and yet deserted, not a human being to be found upon them. I had prepared myself to see hard times here, but unlike most Cases, the actual condition of

affairs is much worse than the report. The Society is dreadful, nothing like religion and indeed not much of common honesty. Still I am of opinion that the present and the next twelve months will be the most favorable times for those who ever think of migrating from the Northern & Eastern States. Lands are not only low, but I think a grand revolution must ensue. The dishonest and the insolvent must leave the State, when I think others will come in more prudent and prepared to act upon different principles from those who preceded them. Since I have seen Miss: & her resources, her good and her cheap lands, I have become charmed and almost determined to become a farmer. If I could now leave No. Ca. I should think very seriously of locating in this State. In regard to health I am satisfied that

#### HEALTH GOOD; TRANSPORTATION POOR.

almost any portions of the country I have yet seen are superior to the County of Edgecombe [N. C.]. There is however a drawback in regard to this county. They have no nearer point from whence to ship than Vicksburg, from 50 to 75 miles. The R. R. from V. to Jackson is building but it will be some time ere it is accomplished, and at present the charges on it are so enormous as almost to prohibit the farmers from shipping on it, hence they hawl to Vicksburg over a dreadful road, and this is a very serious job.—I meet with acquaintances everywhere, and many that I had understood were in prosperous circumstances are poorer than

#### NO COLLECTIONS.

when they left No. Ca.—I had from \$8 to \$10,000 due in this State and find I shall not be able to collect *one single cent*. I met with one man who offered to pay \$3,000 in Union Money which could not be sold for more than 40c in the dollar. I had to decline receiving it. Finding it impossible to make any Collections or of securing the debts due

I concluded it was useless for me longer to remain, and after looking about awhile longer, on Saturday morning I returned to Clinton & and giving up my hired horse at 12

JACKSON ; BAD WATER ; HEAVY RAIN.

o'clock m. took stage to Jackson 12 miles. This latter is the seat of government of Miss: but from its appearance one would not come to this conclusion. In winter it may have probably 1500 inhabitants, all of whom leave in Summer that can get away. It is situated on low, level land and the streets in rainy weather are very muddy. The water is very bad, so bad in fact that I could not drink it & had to mix brandy with it. I expected to leave the next evening, but was disappointed.

Sunday 19th. this was indeed a gloomy day. it had rained very hard the previous evening and this morning at 8 o'clock it began again and from then till 6 o'clock p. m. it rained incessantly, and for the length of time one of the hardest rains I have ever seen fall. The consequence was every place was filled with water and the Stage due at 4 o'clock did not get in until the next day. I therefore had to remain as quietly as possible with the prospect of not getting away until Wednesday night.

Monday 20th. A little better than I expected. They [sic] day was very fair and pretty, and about 12 o'clock the stage came in, at 2 o'clock p. m. therefore I took my seat for Columbus—We had proceeded but a little way before the effects of yesterday's rain were very perceptible, high creeks, bridges washed away, and it was with the utmost difficulty that we could get along at all. Riding in the Stage forty seven miles brought us to a halt about day-break next Morning and here I had to exchange the Coach for a square box set on two low wheels, intended only for

## CART RIDE; PROFANITY; ROUGH COUNTRY.

Carrying the mail, and having no more spring to it than is to be found on the earth itself. Here commenced a ride of over 100 miles which of all others I have ever experienced, by far exceeded them all and forms an epoch in my travelling life which I hope will never be equalled again. Bad roads, Bad fare, profane and reckless drivers, and the only redeeming trait was the excellency of the Teams, these are equal to any I have ever seen. My proximity to the driver was an unenviable Situation, for they were the most profane and vulgar set of men I have ever met with. Much of the Country over which the road passes is very hilly and very poor resembling the poor hills of Franklin & Granville Counties [N. C.] than any I have seen. I had no idea that any part of Miss: was as mountainous as I find it to be. 25 ms. before reaching Columbus commences an extensive prairie, from 10 to 12 ms. wide & 25 to 30 ms. long. The road heretore [sic] was rooty, hilly, and never worked, hence I was jolted badly, through the prairie the wheels of our vehicle were often up to their hubs in mud. Finally about 2 o'clock p. m. of Wednesday I reached Columbus, tired, hungry, sore, and almost jolted to pieces. I verily believe I could not have travelled 25 ms. farther this way. With a thankful heart I got out of my box and bidding it an adieu, I hope forever, I stopt at Jones Hotel. I found

## DIRTY HOTELS IN MISS.

this house not exempt from the filth to which all the Hotels at which I have yet been, are subject to. It seems to be a characteristic of the Miss: public Houses, and which renders them very unpleasant places of resort. I was so tired however and nearly worried down, that almost any kind of an house where to rest my wearied limbs would have proved a luxury. After dinner (none of the best) I went

to my room and for two hours slept as soundly as it was possible to have done. On awakening I was somewhat refreshed, and a good night's rest again, improved me a great deal.

(To be Continued.)

## THE UNIVERSITY OF HENRICO.

BY JOHN S. FLORY.

The idea generally prevails that the early Virginians were averse to education. The notorious declaration<sup>1</sup> of

### BERKELEY'S FAMOUS REMARK.

Governor Berkeley is quoted by historians as conclusive evidence of this opinion, and the subject is dismissed as if the last word had been said. Governor Berkeley, however, it should be remembered, was the instrument of an arbitrary king, and in no sense did he express the feelings and aspirations of the real founders of Virginia. More than a score of years before Sir William came to this country, the promoters of the colony, both in England and America, were making enthusiastic and praiseworthy efforts to establish a system of education on Virginia soil. The King's active interest in the project at that time would have done him great honor, had he not later, in violation of the laws of his own realm, destroyed the work he had himself previously fostered. By his arbitrary measures with the Virginia Company, ( which will be noticed at the proper place) one of the noblest enterprises connected with the planting of the new world came to an untimely end.

### EARLY EFFORTS.

The facts connected with the founding of a College at Henrico, now discoverable, are scattered and meager, and frequently the statements concerning it are confusing. Enough remains, however, to give a tolerably clear conception of the purpose of those who promoted the enterprise,

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<sup>1</sup> "I thank God there are no free schools, nor printing, in Virginia, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years." Written in a letter to England in 1671.

and of the methods by which they sought to achieve their object.

The year 1619 is famous in American history as marking the beginning of real growth in the Virginia colony. The arrival of Sir George Yeardley, April 19th, marks a new era. The liberal policy that he announced for the government of the colony infused new life into the gloomy planters. To have a voice in the management of their own affairs was a privilege they had scarcely dared hope for. Yet, if Sir George possessed any authority to convene the deliberative body that met in July of this year, the fact has been lost to history. The Company, however, in the following year, signified their approval of his course of action, and certainly the feeling of contentment and the hopefulness that his policy fostered throughout the colony at this time was most helpful. To the subsequent effects of this policy I shall refer later.

Governor Yeardley was ably seconded in his efforts to improve the condition of the colonists, by the able treasurer of the Company, Sir Edwin Sandys. Through his influence, the introduction of virtuous maids to become wives of the planters brought, into their lonely cabins, the first rays of domestic felicity. The introduction of African slaves, too, while disastrous in the end, had the immediate effect of making life more easy. But of all the generous measures that make this year famous, none speak more highly of the noble purpose and the penetrating foresight of the promoters of the colony than their purpose to establish a college at Henrico.

When Sir George Yeardley sailed from England on the 29th of January, 1619, the King had already issued orders

#### KING'S ORDERS FOR £15,000 ABOUT 1619.

to the various archbishops in his realm, commanding the collection of 15,000 pounds for the purpose of erecting a

college in Virginia. This action of the monarch had doubtless been solicited by the Virginia Company and may have been performed as much as a year before the above date. The proposed institution was to be "for the training and bringing up of infidels' children to the true knowledge of God and understanding of righteousness." One who gave

#### To EDUCATE INDIANS.

liberally for the support of the school but who refused to reveal his name, thus minutely and clearly states his desire in regard to the use of his donation: he directs that it be applied "for the maintaining of a convenient number of young Indians, taken at the age of seven years or younger, and instructed in reading and understanding the principles of the Christian religion unto the age of twelve years, and then as occasion serveth, to be trained and brought up in some lawful trade with all humanity and gentleness unto the age of twenty-one years, and then to enjoy like liberties and privileges with our native English in that place."<sup>2</sup> The Company, on accepting this donation, directed that "such of these children as we find capable of learning shall be put in the College and brought up to be scholars, and such as are not shall be put to trades, and be brought up in the fear of God and Christian religion."<sup>3</sup> About the same time, the Virginia Assembly, in considering the problem of fitting Indian boys for the College, added, "that from thence they may be sent to that work of conversion."<sup>4</sup>

I have brought together these various statements in regard to the purpose of the College that a clear conception may be had of the real design. From the last quotation cited, it is evident that the colonists themselves understood that the College, in addition to civilizing and christianizing young

<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, Vol. I, page 42.

<sup>3</sup> *Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, Vol. I, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> *The Governors of Virginia*, Smith, p. 72.

Indians, should also prepare some of them as missionaries to their own people. The gentleman who refused to give his name entertained the lofty idea of preparing the Indians for citizenship—an ideal that has never been realized. It is probable, however, that neither of these ideals represents fully the aim of the Virginia Company. Their object was the “civilization” of the Indians, which necessarily included instruction in the fundamental principles of Christianity. By teaching them the arts of civilization, the Company thought the Indians would become producers, and aid in subduing the savagery of the American wilderness. Such as showed talent to learn were to receive scholarly training, presumably for the purpose of teaching others of their kind. Whether this higher training was to be chiefly secular or chiefly religious is uncertain, but probably the former. There is every evidence that the result sought was practical, and that the whole plan of education was directed towards making the Indians useful members of the community. Probably the College would have assumed something of the character of the industrial schools for negroes of the present day.

At the sailing of Governor Yeardley, about 1,500 pounds of the sum ordered by the King had been collected and was in the treasury of the Virginia Company. This Company

#### WHITES ADMITTED; LAND GRANT.

now enlarged the original design of the College by providing for the admission of the English also to its advantages. At the same time they made, for the use of the institution, a grant of an immense tract of land on the northern side of the James River, extending from the Falls of Henrico, about ten miles in length, and consisting of ten thousand acres. The name of the school was also now enlarged so as to read, The College and University of Henrico. One thousand acres of this tract was to belong to the College, or school for

Indians, and the rest to the University proper, which was designed for the English. By the terms "College" and "University," we are to understand simply two departments of the same institution, intended for Indians and English respectively, and with this distinction the terms will be used hereafter in this paper.

#### UNIVERSITY ON PAPER ONLY.

Notwithstanding the enormous tract of land bequeathed by the Virginia Company, the University seems never to have commanded any resources. This was intended as a theological seminary to train ministers for the Church of England in America.<sup>5</sup> The fact that comparatively few of these were as yet needed, according to the existing plan of colonization, and that the College was to provide religious instruction for the Indians, made it important that the College rather than the University be put in operation as quickly as possible. Consequently the University took a second place, as being of less immediate importance. With these statements, the University as a separate school or department may be dismissed. This is as near a reality as it ever came.

#### REVENUES FOR THE COLLEGE.

The money raised by the archbishops at the King's command was originally intended for the *erection* of the College. During the year 1619, however, the Company decided to use it for another purpose. They agreed to employ it in providing an annual revenue for the school, and at the same time they turned over, for the time being, the whole of the ten thousand acres of land to the College, intending to erect the University, or divinity school, later on, when the College for Indians had been established. This revenue was to be created by cultivating the college lands; and, in order that

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<sup>5</sup> Hawks's *Ecclesiastical History of the United States*, p. 37.

proceeds might begin to accrue, "fifty good persons" were to be sent to Virginia to begin the work of cultivation. For the transportation of these tenants and establishing them as farmers, the collections from England were now used.

To insure proper attention to the undertaking, all matters pertaining to the College were given into the care of a special committee. This committee recommended that the young men to be sent as tenants should be unmarried, and should represent certain useful trades;<sup>6</sup> that a minister be sent, whose living<sup>7</sup> they had provided for; and also that a captain be secured to oversee the tenants on the college lands.

To the office of overseer William Weldon was appointed. He never entered upon the duties of his office, however, and George Thorpe was chosen in his place, but did not reach the colony until the following year. In compensation for his services, the incumbent of this office was to receive the proceeds of "300 acres of land with ten servants."

The fifty tenants for the college lands sailed from London in August, 1619, and reached Virginia the 4th of December following. They were to have half the benefit of their labor, and the other half was to go in setting forward the work, and "for the maintenance of the tutors and scholars." In the spring of 1620, fifty more tenants were sent and likewise located on the college property.

The plan on which the Company were proceeding is thus clearly seen. A permanent income was to be created out of the college lands, and from this the buildings were to be erected and the schools maintained.

As auxiliary to this plan, and in compliance with the same principle, the Company now decided to use several sums of money left in their hands for the benefit of the school, in erecting an iron furnace in Virginia, the proceeds

<sup>6</sup> Smiths, carpenters, brick-layers, potters, husbandmen, brick-makers, and turners.

<sup>7</sup> He was to have 40 pounds annually, and 50 acres of land for himself and heirs forever.

of which were to be devoted to this educational work. A place on Falling Creek, near the James, was chosen as the site of the furnace, and in the autumn of 1619 fifty men were sent from England to set the work on foot. Two years later it was described as being "in a very great forwardness."

The principle upon which the Company proceeded in their efforts to plant the College at Henrico was sound, conservative, and eminently practical. The proceeds of an iron furnace and of ten thousand acres of land in tidewater Virginia, when brought under proper cultivation, would have produced an unfailing revenue for the support of the first American University.

#### DONATIONS FROM ENGLAND.

The interest awakened in the mother country for the success of the enterprise is shown by the many donations that came into the hands of the Company. Among these was one of 550 pounds in gold, and one of 500 pounds by promissory note. Another sum of 300 pounds was left by Nicholas Ferrar in his will, and one of 100 pounds by George Ruggles in the same way. A friend gave "a communion cup, with a cover and case, a trencher plate for the bread, a carpet of crimson velvet, and a damask tablecloth for the college." A "person refusing to be named," sent at one time four religious books<sup>8</sup> and a map of the American coast; at another time he sent four more volumes of a similar nature.<sup>9</sup> In the colony, too, interest was by no means wanting. The Rev. Thomas Bargrave, minister at Henrico, donated his library, and the people of Henrico village subscribed 1,500 pounds to

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<sup>8</sup> One was a treatise on The City of God, by St. Augustine, translated into English. The other three were the works of Rev. William Perkins in defense of his Calvinistic doctrines.

<sup>9</sup> A large church Bible, the common prayer-book, Ursinus' Catechism, and a small Bible richly ornamented.

builid a hotel for the entertainment of visitors. All of these donations, it seems, were for the College for Indians.

#### A COLLEGE FREE SCHOOL.

In the summer of 1621, the educational plan for Virginia was a second time enlarged. Rev. Patrick Copeland, returning to England from the East Indies, prevailed upon the crew of the vessel of which he was chaplain to contribute seventy pounds for the erection of a free school in Virginia. To this sum one unknown person added thirty pounnds, another twenty-five pounds, and still another £66 13s. 4d. All of these sums were placed in the hands of the Virginia Company, who now, on their part, granted a thousand acres of land at Charles City for the maintenance of the school. Owing to the circumstances under which it had its origin, it was to be called the East India School. It was to be dependent upon the College, and students were to be graduated from it to the College according to their proficiency in learning.<sup>10</sup>

#### HOME TRAINING FOR THE INDIANS.

The question has probably already arisen in the mind of the reader, why a College was planned before provision had been made for a system of preparatory education. We shall see, however, that this point had not been overlooked, but had been provided for in another way. According to the original plan, the rudiments of education were to be imparted to the Indian boys in the homes of the planters. The first legislative assembly of Virginia enacted "that for laying a surer foundation for the conversion of the Indians to Christian Religion, eache towne, city, Borrough, and particular plantation do obtaine unto themselves by just means a certaine number of the natives' children to be educated by them in religion and civil course of life—of which children

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<sup>10</sup> Holmes's *Annals*, p. 173.

the most towardly boyes in witt & grace of nature to be brought up by them in the first elements of litterature, so as to be fitted for the Colledge intended for them.”<sup>11</sup> This act was passd as early as August 2nd, 1619, and shows that the original purpose of the planters was to prepare the Indian boys for College in their own homes. The compensation for this kind of instruction was estimated by the Virginia Company at ten pounds for each boy, and was to be paid out of the funds accruing to the school. Later we hear the planters complaining to the Company that they cannot get possession of many children in the peaceable manner that had been recommended, because of the natural affection of the parents for their children. This fact made the Free School well nigh a necessity.

#### PRELIMINARIES FOR THE FREE SCHOOL.

As yet there was no immediate demand for the College and still less for the University, but the want of primary instruction was felt more keenly every day. The liberality with which contributions were made for the Free School made it possible to push this now in preference to the College or University. At the end of 1621, about 102 pounds and one thousand acres of land had been donated for the school. In March of the next year John Dike was appointed as usher in the school with the understanding that, if his work proved successful, he should be advanced to the position of master. Shortly before this the Virginia court had been considering and probably had adopted for use in the school “Brindley’s ‘Consolation for our Grammer Schools,’ especially designed for the more speedie attaining of the English tongue by people of such rude countries as Ireland, Wales, Virginia, and the Somers Islands.”<sup>12</sup> In June, 1622, Leonard Hudson, a carpenter, with his wife and five apprentices,

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<sup>11</sup> *The Governors of Virginia*, Smith, p. 72.

<sup>12</sup> *The First Republic in America*, Brown, p. 443.

sailed from England for the purpose of erecting the school building at Charles City.<sup>13</sup>

The Rev. Mr. Copeland, to whose active interest the Free School chiefly owed its origin, had been honored by the Company with a present of three shares of stock and membership in the corporation. He was now further honored by being appointed rector of "the intended College at Henrico," which function included the pastoral charge of the College tenants. As compensation for these services he was to have the tenth part of the profit due to the College, out of the lands and arising out of the labors of the tenants.<sup>14</sup> He was also to be provided with a parsonage, and was to be a member of the council of Virginia.

#### MANAGEMENT OF LANDS.

In the meantime George Thorpe, the deputy or overseer, had succeeded in bringing a large part of the College lands under cultivation. A hundred tenants had been located upon the lands, most of whom were now married and settled. By dividing the ten thousand acres into tracts of about one hundred acres each, he was speedily rendering the whole productive. It is probable that in this second year of cultivation the land was already beginning to yield a revenue.

#### HOPES SHATTERED BY INDIAN MASSACRE.

To this stage the work of planting an educational institution in Virginia had progressed by the spring of 1622; and certainly the prospect was most auspicious. Of the three schools planned, the Free School seemed on the very verge of erection, and the College appeared to be not a great way off. A sum equivalent to nearly a hundred thousand dollars in our time had been expended in the enterprise, and much

<sup>13</sup> *Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, Vol. I, p. 146. News of the massacre of March 22nd had not yet reached England.

<sup>14</sup> *Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, Vol. I, p. 218.

thought and labor had been bestowed upon its advancement. What with the organization of schools, the appointment of instructors, the adoption of text-books, the donation of libraries, the collection of funds, the contracting of master mechanics, the cultivation of friendly relations<sup>15</sup> with the Indians, the planters already saw towering up, in their imaginations, the temples of learning, which, in a little while, would teem with the busy work of converting a savage people to the ways of civilization. Their fondest hopes, however, were not to be realized. Like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky came the terrible catastrophe of March 22nd—the horrible Indian massacre—in which the work of years was destroyed in one brief day, and the College enterprise went down in the general ruin.

The details of the massacre are well known, and need not be repeated here. "Of the eighty plantations which were advancing to completion, eight only remained."<sup>16</sup> The fury of the savages seems to have been directed especially against those settlements that were designed as educational centres. Henrico and Charles City were literally razed to the ground. At the iron works everything possible was destroyed, all the workmen killed except two children, and the tools of the workmen thrown into the river.<sup>17</sup> The overseer of the college lands and "all but sixty or thereabouts" of the tenants were also among the slain.

#### REVIVAL OF PURPOSE.

After the first shock of consternation had passed, however, the colonists resolutely set about to repair their losses.

<sup>15</sup> Howe's *Virginia, Its History and Antiquities*, p. 44.

<sup>16</sup> Hawk's *Ecclesiastical History of the United States*, p. 41.

<sup>17</sup> It is uncertain to what degree of completion the iron works had been brought. The statements regarding it are not clear. There is evidence that iron had been smelted at the works, and there is equally good evidence that the works had never been completed.

See *Proceedings, &c.*, Vol. I, p. 50, and Vol. II, p. 179; also *The First Republic in America*, Brown, p. 500.

The Virginia Company also lent them generous aid, and in August of the same year wrote as follows: "It is absolutely necessary for the good of the colony to replant Henrico, the Colledge-lands, the Iron Works, Charles Cittie, and Martin's Hundred."<sup>18</sup> About the same time the college affairs were placed under the care of George Sandys, and the iron works under Maurice Berkley. The brick-makers were to be held to their contract made with Mr. Thorpe, so that "when the opportunity shall be for the erecting of the fabric of the Colledge, the materialls be not wanting."<sup>19</sup> From these statements it is clear that the Company meant to revive the school enterprise after the massacre, and push it to completion.

In February, 1623, George Sandys, who had now assumed the management of the college affairs, wrote to the Company saying, "I have hired a ship to carry ye Colledge men to their plantation, which is now under sayle I pray God it succeed well, but I like not this stragelinge & if all had been of my minde, I would rather have disobeyed your command."<sup>20</sup> This is a characteristic remark, and shows that, while the deputy was conscientiously discharging the duties of his office, he was entering into the work with only a half-hearted earnestness. The college lands were thus retenant-ed, but the work of rebuilding Henrico and Charles City went forward slowly.

#### REVOKING CHARTER KILLS NOBLE PLAN.

During the years 1623 and 1624 the college enterprise met with many hindrances. Owing in part to the want of means and in part to the want of proper encouragement, but chiefly to the continual strife between the King and the Company, in which the monarch sought to deprive the Com-

<sup>18</sup> Brown's *The First Republic in America*, p. 500.

<sup>19</sup> *The First Republic in America*, Brown, p. 500.

<sup>20</sup> *The First Republic in America*, Brown, p. 505.

pany of their charter, the work was little more than kept alive. And when, in November, 1624, the King's court rendered a verdict revoking the charter and making Virginia a royal colony, the whole enterprise went down never to be revived.

It is impossible to contemplate the undeserved fate of the first projected American College without many regrets; yet the conditions were such as to make a better fate almost an impossibility. The increasing wealth of the Company and the growing spirit of democracy in the colony were not long to pass unheeded by an arbitrary and money-loving king like James I. The natural reaction had come, and the royal prerogative was again to predominate in Virginia's affairs. The liberal policy which had caused such universal satisfaction throughout the colony in 1619 was now bearing its logical fruit. From the Indian massacre the College would have recovered, but there was no notwithstanding the determined opposition of the King. The dissolution of the Virginia Company and the confiscation of the college property extinguished, in the minds of its many friends and promoters, the last lingering hope of reviving the cherished enterprise. With the failure of the Henrico University came to an end the first noble effort to civilize the Indians by means of education. When the subject of schools was taken up again, ten years later,<sup>21</sup> provisions were made for the English only; the opportunity of the red man had gone by forever.

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<sup>21</sup> In 1634 Benjamin Sym founded a Free School on the Pocoson river and endowed it with 200 acres of land and the increase of eight milk cows. This was the first educational institution in Virginia.

## THE DUANE LETTERS.

(Continued.)

PHILIP LIVINGSTON TO JAMES DUANE.<sup>1</sup>

NEW YORK, *Tuesday, 27th, Sept., 1774.*

Dr. Sir—

I got home on Saturday Evening last & wou'd have wrote you before now, but thought it best to wait a Day or two that I might have some opportunity to collect sentiments respecting the Affairs you are engaged in, and it is with great pleasure I inform you that it seems to be the General Opinion to rest satisfied with the Determination of the Congress. A non-importation from Britain is looked upon to be a determined Affair since the notice published by the Congress on Thursday last, & will give no uneasiness in this City, and a non-Exportation to commence the middle of September next I am fully satisfied will be cheerfully acquiesced in. I sincerely wish the New York Delegates may agree with the Congress in every measure that shall be concluded on by them for a redress of their Grievances. It is absolutely necessary for the general Interest of America that it should be so. A Dissent from the other Colonies besides being fatal to the common cause, will give room for suggestions noways favorable to the People of this City, which I wish to God may be prevented, especially as there is advice from

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<sup>1</sup> Philip Livingston, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was born in Albany, N. Y., in 1715 and died in York, Pa., in 1778. He was a graduate of Yale College and afterwards engaged in the duties of an importing merchant in New York. He was a member of the Provincial Assembly for New York and also a member of the first Continental Congress. He was active in all movements for the benefit of his country and especially for New York.

London that some principal People have given assurances to Government that the People of this City will take no Part with the People of Boston respecting the oppressive Acts of Parliament &c &c.

Without Unity America is undone, let not the fault be laid at our Door.

When I left you the Affair of Trade was under consideration. I think G. Britain has a right to regulate our Trade for the General Interest of the Empire, but not to impose Duties or Taxes to raise a revenue. It is a right she has always exercised & in which we have acquiesced, & without which we should be entirely independent of the Mother Country, which I think is an absurdity no man in his senses can gravely advance. To deny her that right would be to deny her existence as a great nation, which she undoubtedly will endeavour to maintain, if her right is denied, by her Power.

Mr. Boerum was yesterday elected Delegate for Kings County. He is going down to-morrow morning to assist at the Congress. I wish you may receive great Light and assistance from this grave Senator. He says his County don't care what is done about Non-Importation, but Non-Exportation is what they are apprehensive of. Who can doubt this? He says however that if it shou'd not commence 'till next September the County will be easy for this reason, that possibly all the Differences between G. Britain & the Colonies may subside before any Inconvenience is felt.

I remain, Dr. Sir your most obedt. Servt.

PHILIP LIVINGSTON.

James Duane Esquire,

at

Philadelphia.

LIVINGSTON TO JAMES DUANE.

MANOR LIVINGSTON, Nov. 3, 1779.

Dear Sir

Since my return from the Northern Frontiers I have been so engaged in settling the accounts of my Regt that it has been out of my power to give you a brief, account untill now—

from the time that I took the command untill the 9 Oct. the chief of my time, was employ'd in pressing cattle from the disaffected to supply, the Garrisons, of Fort Ann, and Fort George.

Fort Ann was Garrisoned by Cap<sup>t</sup> Sherwood and Sixty Men, from my Regt on Monday night the 9th Oct. he sent me word, that his scouts, had discovered, the tracks of 150 Men, and from their course, he believed they would make an attack that night. I imedeately order all my men out of their beds, and hold my works, man'd during that night, and keep out small parties, to patrole the woods, & Roads round my Works—but discoverd nothing, on the 10<sup>th</sup> early in the Morning I sent out small parties on the road leading to Fort Ann but they discoverd nothing. at ten oclock of the same day, I saw the smoak arrise in the Quarter of Fort Ann and heard a firing. I then was convinced the Enemy was come and that they must be in force or they would not dare fire Houses, and keep up a firing in a settled country. I did imediately send off a Continental officer (who was acquainted with the country) to allarm the Militia. I then sent out, a good officer & twenty Men (which was one third of Men in my Garrison) to endeavor to make discoveries, and, at the same time to cut off any small parties of the inhabitants that might be going to join the Enemy, he had not march'd more than three Miles, before he fell in with about thirty Indians, and a body of tories, which made him retreat imediately but in good order, soon after that the

whig inhabitants came to the fort for protection and by one of them, I learn<sup>t</sup> that the Enemy consisted of 600 British, 200 tories, and 150 Indians, & that they had taken Fort Ann, without firing a shot.—I then, thought my situation very critical, I had only 60 Men Rank & file with 10 officers, I did not know what to do. if they came, I knew, that I must fall, and fight I must after one of the Forts had surrendered without fighting. I do assure you I was much embarsed, and I wrote two letters, to the officer at Fort Ann informing him that if the Enemy shoud attack him I would support him, one of which letters fell into the hands of the Enemy. I have reason to believe, the British troops then March on, and encampt about 5 Miles from me, and sent down the tories & Indians to burn and destroy all round me, and I assure you they gave me a great deal of trouble during the night of the 11. early in the Morning of the 12<sup>th</sup> they march to fort George, the commanding officer of that port had discovered by his scouts a party of 30 Indians, (which was their advance party) he sent out 50 Men to fight them, but to their great surprise they found themselves surrounded by the whole of the British; immediately on that they attempt to make a retreat but all in vain, they lost 13 Men kill'd, & 10 taken prisoner. They they march'd to the fort, which capitulated on very honorable terms. the Enemy then burnt the fort, and cross'd the lake, so that they was but two days in the country—

I am now order out with all the Militia, as the Enemy have made their appearance in lake George again, when I return you shall have the rest of my adventures in the Northern World—

I am DrSir

with great esteem

Fort Edward was  
not tenable. against  
50 Men, this is a fact

yours sincerely  
W. LIVINGSTON

(To be Continued.)

## RECONSTRUCTION DOCUMENTS.

### THE VIEWS OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

*From Doolittle Papers; Contributed by Duane Mowry.*

[The following is a copy of an unsigned manuscript document found among the private papers and letters of the late ex-Senator James R. Doolittle, of Wisconsin. It is presumed that the document was furnished to the Senator during his service in the United States Senate to be used, and which may have been in fact used, in the discussion of the reconstruction policy of Mr. Johnson. It may have furnished the text of Judge Doolittle's defense of President Johnson's attitude towards the seceding Southern States, as it is well known that the late ex-Senator was on the most intimate personal and confidential relations with Mr. Johnson and his Administration. It is not thought that the "opinions" which follow offer anything historically new. Possibly, they may serve to corroborate some truths of history.]

"The President holds that the so-called 'Confederate States' were merely combinations of traitors, who, for the time, overthrew all national and State authority, and established thereon a revolutionary government, but that these revolutionary govts (governments) never were States. That the People constitute the States, and what is meant by the term *People* is, that portion of the political community, who by their several state constitutions are made electors and invested with political sovereignty, not aliens, not adherents of the rebel power.

"The President holds that the rebels are no part of the People, and therefore, their confederate governments may be overthrown and their armies captured or dispersed. Yet so long as there is a hope cherished of revival, either by force or fraud, its adherents are still enemies, mere prisoners of war, and not citizens.

"The States then, are the people who never belonged to that revolutionary power, or, having belonged to it, renounced it and renewed their allegiance to the National government.

"It follows, therefore, from the principles of President Johnson's policy, that the People of the Southern States, though long overborne by a power they were unable to resist, lost not their rights as States of this Union; but that these rights, so to speak, were dormant, held in abeyance, and revived in their full force and virtue, so soon as the rebel power was sufficiently destroyed or weakened to admit of their free exercise.

"It follows, also, from the President's policy, that whoever obstructs the people in the re-organization of their State governments & attempts to bar the door against their admission as States of this Union, is a revolutionist, playing the *role* of the original secessionists.

"And if by *force* he should overthrow these States, and defeat the People in the enjoyment of equal rights as members of this free republic, he is a traitor as richly deserving the execration of mankind, as is Jefferson Davis & his co-conspirators."

Then follows this significant paragraph, which, presumably, is the argument of him who had been quoting the foregoing extracts from the President's position.

"In the sense in which I use the term 'people' they never lost their love for the Constitution—the bulk of them were never prepared to adopt the views of Davis & Co., & a conception of Confederate independence would have blasted the hopes of the majority."

#### PAYMENT FOR NEGROES.

From Mrs. Ruth Marshall to Senator Doolittle.

[MILWAUKEE, WIS., Oct. 19th, 1903.

[*To the Editor of the Publications of the Southern History Association:*

The letter which follows was carefully enclosed in the envelope in which it was evidently sent to the late ex-Senator Doolittle, of Wisconsin. The case which the letter outlines is not, probably, an isolated one. It has, as one can easily see, many features of real hard-

ship. But the letter is not submitted for that reason, but rather to present a real condition of affairs succeeding the War of the Rebellion. The story is so simply and truthfully told, and the dear interests of the relator are so candidly set forth, that one cannot fail to be interested from the outset. I do not know what Judge Doolittle did with Mrs. Marshall's "momentous question," nor is it important now. But it would seem that there were equities in her statement of facts that ought to appeal to some higher court than a devastating army, or an unfriendly public opinion. The writer found the letter among the private correspondence of the great commoner from Wisconsin, who represented the Badger State in the United States Senate for twelve years, from 1857 to 1869.

Very truly yours,

DUANE MOWRY.]

CHARLESTON, So. Ca., Feb'y 12th /67.

To the Honorable James R. Doolittle.

Respected Sir:—

I have presumed to address you on a subject of vital importance to myself, & one which is anxiously thought of by many others. I am deeply interested on the settlement relative to negro bonds. My Husband was a Scotchman, and myself an English Woman, both for many years Citazens of U. S. The year that the unhappy war broke out my Husband died leaving a valuable Estate chiefly in Plantations & Negroes. One lot of Negroes had been purchased but a short time before his death in the year /60, one-third cash, balance in 1, 2 & 3 yrs, with interest from date, bond & mortgage given on the negroes purchased. 1st installment was paid, 2nd also, now this was fully half, but when 3 installment became due, Executor of Est. from whom the negroes had been purchased, refuses to accept Confederate Currency, when it was nearly on a par with gold, & what had I, a widow, a non-combatant & a Foreigner to do with the change of currency? Nothing but to see & submit, but at the same time, said Executor willingly receives interest in Confederate currency, & is willing to continue doing so, thereby deriving a comfortable support from my hard exertions, & thus keeping the debt hanging

over my head as Executrix of my Husband's property. I, a woman, acting for myself, & daughter, he a man & a Bank Officer, not daring enough to risk the investment of the money, which could easily have been done in Cotton, Real Estate, & a thousand other ways had he chosen to have taken the risk, but preferring to cast the responsibility on my side, he refuses to rec. payment, thus warding off a complete settlement of the debt. The war progresses. By Confederate forces I am compelled to abandon my beautiful homes on the Coast, elegant House, Mills, Barns, etc., all burned, a complete desolation of a magnificent property ensues. I find a home with my Family & Negroes, about 70 miles from the Coast, strenuously endeavor to support, cloth & feed the Negroes. When located there a sufficient time to begin to get comfortable, we prove to be in the line of March of Sherman's Army. We were again forced to leave houses, Barns, etc., all again devastated, burned & destroyed, & from affluence & luxuries, I am pomparatively (comparatively) without means, only the remains of once valuable Plantations, and a portion of City property saved by strenuous exertions, which now affords myself & children a support & home.

My Question now arises, Can this remnant of property be wrested from me? By an act of Legislature of South Carolina, the Negroes were declared free. Can it not be made a Question in Congress, so that we can be justified? I hold a Bill of Sale of said Negroes, declaring them to be mine, they & their Heirs for life. The contract on their side is violated & again in my perplexity I earnestly ask of you, Can I be made to pay this unjust debt?

To you I appeal for Council & advice on this momentous Question, craving your assistance & trusting that this communication may elicit from you a speedy reply, which I shall ever esteem a favor & honor.

Very Respectfully,

RUTH MARSHALL.

## REVIEWS.

A POLITICAL HISTORY OF SLAVERY. Being an account of the Slavery Controversy from the earliest agitations in the eighteenth century to the close of the Reconstruction Period in America. By William Henry Smith. With an introduction by Whitelaw Reid. In two volumes. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903. O., pp. I. xvi+350, II. iv+456, index, portrait of author.

Mr. Smith, the editor of the St. Clair Papers, was made the literary executor of President Hayes, whose early career had brought him into the thick of the anti-slavery agitation which preceded the organization of the Republican party. The present volumes were originally intended as an introduction to an edition of the *Life and Works* of President Hayes, but outgrowing their original scope, were prepared for publication after the death of the author in 1896 by his son and issued in the present form.

The avowed purpose of the work, according to the introduction, is to shear New England of a great part of the honor which she has claimed for herself (since she has had the greatest number of writers on this subject) in the anti-slavery struggle. The violence of Foster, the outbursts of Phillips and the vituperation of Garrison are censured and condemned. It seeks to redeem the Middle West from the curse denounced by the Confederate Congress at its last session against the Southern people in case of failure—that their history should be written by New England historians. It claims the chief honors for Charles Osborn and those who organized the opposition while “to another generation the idolatrous treatment of the pure abolition school which at the East appeared to follow the close of the war will seem little short of amazing.”

These brave words by the editor of the *Tribune* present the work in the most favorable light and make pleasant reading for one who has not been reared within the influence of that universe whose sun and center is Boston. They are further emphasized when we remember that Mr. Smith was himself a man from the Middle West, that he was not only an onlooker but a participant in the events which he describes and we are led to expect an exact, precise, minute, circumstantial account of the part taken by the great States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois in the anti-slavery conflict. It was possible for Mr. Smith to have made an original contribution to the history of slavery and to have put all future historians in his debt; but he has done nothing of the kind. He has produced two ponderous tomes filled mostly with platitudes and the threadbare story of congressional contests which have been told time and again. Some of the matters here presented in great detail concern slavery, while others bear relations to that subject only as all other important events of that day can be made to show relations to that great central idea. The first chapter which deals with the rise of the anti-slavery idea is imperfect and shows great lack of knowledge when compared with the minute, full and luminous presentation of the same subject by Miss Mary Stoughton Locke in her *Anti-Slavery in America* prior to 1808. The later chapters, which present the phases of the subject with which Mr. Smith was more or less familiar, are uncritical and show not the spirit of the judge but of the partisan. Of works of this sort, undigested, illogical, uncritical and partisan we have had an abundant crop already. The capacity of the country is no doubt great enough for one more, but pray let us not try to beguile ourselves with the idea that this is history. Let us count each as but an additional brief to be estimated and weighed by the coming historian.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM TRYON AND HIS ADMINISTRATION IN THE PROVINCE OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1765-1771. By Marshall DeLancey Haywood. (Raleigh: A. Williams, 1903. Q., pp. 223, 4 ills., 1 map, cloth, \$2.00 prepaid.)

"Do you know, sir, that your lenity on this occasion," writes Judge Maurice Moore to Governor Tryon, then promoted to New York, in regard to the trial and execution of the Regulators, "was less than that of the bloody Jeffreys in 1685? He condemned 500 persons, but saved the lives of 270." Tryon condemned twelve and saved six. "When several thousand men had been in open and armed insurrection against the colony, and had been guilty of all manner of excesses, only twelve were convicted," writes the author of this book (p. 145), "and the governor pardoned half of that small number." At the end of our Civil War when a million men had been in armed resistance not one was hanged for treason. Had the courts of the United States brought two thousand leading Confederates to trial for treason, had they been convicted and had Lincoln allowed the law to take its course, the mind of the South could not have conceived nor its tongue expressed the hatred in which he would have been held by unborn generations. And yet Lincoln would have been less guilty before the bar of History than the client for whom Mr. Haywood appears and in whose behalf he here presents such an excellent and eloquent brief.

All that can be said in behalf of Tryon has been said here; the oppression and injustice under which the Regulators suffered and against which they protested has been minimized; the kindness, the liberality, the forbearance, the culture, the eloquence and even the pity of Tryon are emphasized; the hideous tyranny of the Johnston act is not laid at the door of Tryon, but at that of the colonial leaders; the ignorance and riotous excesses of the mob are held up to publicity, and not only is Fanning pulled down from bad eminence "as the suggesting fiend or active demon when any specially

dark scenes were depicted" (p. 150), on which the older and ultra democratic writers had placed him, but Tryon is evolved as a sort of *deus ex machina* from whose benevolence all sorts of blessings would have flowed on the rebels, but they would not.

In dealing with the Regulators we regret to say that the work of Mr. Haywood lacks judicial poise. Not content with presenting Tryon in the most favorable light possible, he descends to invective and sarcasm, and so far forgets his judicial position as to tacitly assume that (1) the Regulators could get justice under the Johnston act which had been condemned, in part, in England as irreconcilable with the constitution; (2) and in the court of the very judges who had suffered violence at their hands! Great store is also laid on the fact that the Regulators were generally Tories in the Revolution. The men who led the patriot forces of North Carolina in 1776 were those who had defeated the Regulators in 1771. The men who forced the oath of allegiance down the throats of the Regulators in 1771 sought to make them break that oath in 1776. Only superhuman power or wonderful intelligence could have made the Regulators patriots.

Aside from the fact that his book in the Regulator's war is a special brief for Tryon, Mr. Haywood has produced a volume of much worth. It is really a history of the colony during Tryon's administration, 1765-71. Many little known events are recorded and it is especially rich in biographical and genealogical material, much of it obtained at first hand from English sources. In manner of presentation, in comprehensive knowledge of the sources and in scientific treatment it commands the highest praise. There is an exhaustive index.

It cannot be said that this book settles the question as to the party which was right in 1771, but this thorough and exhaustive piece of work brings us measurably nearer the

truth. Never before has Tryon found in North Carolina so careful, so thorough, so scholarly a defender; never have the Regulators had their view so assailed; never has the unpopular side been so well upheld. But the whole truth is not yet; it is in the middle ground between Tryon and Regulator, and Mr. Haywood has done much to give us a better understanding of the man who was perhaps the strongest of all the colonial governors of North Carolina.

Anent Mr. Francis Nast's recent papers on the Regulation war, appearing in the Charlotte *Observer* and in his *Hillsboro: Colonial and Revolutionary*, Mrs. L. A. McCorckle writes the *N. C. Booklet* for November, 1903 (III, No. 7), and under the title "Was Alamance the first battle of the Revolution?" makes a strong plea for the view that the Regulators were patriots and that their battle was the shot heard around the world. The paper is better put together and based on better evidence than such popular papers are generally expected to be. The December number of the *Booklet* is a sketch of Governor Charles Eden (1673-1722), also by Mr. Haywood.

HISTORY OF MECKLENBURG COUNTY [North Carolina] and the City of Charlotte from 1740 to 1903. By D. A. Tompkins. Volume I. Charlotte, N. C.: Observer Printing House, 1903. O., pp. xviii+202; 51 illus., 4 ports., 1 map, 1 port. and 2 ills. in colors.

It is not often that a Southern county can boast of two histories, but this good fortune has come to Mecklenburg Co., N. C., and both were published in 1903. Dr. Alexander's book was published last spring and is reviewed on pp. 300-1 of volume seven. The first volume of Mr. Tompkins' work has just been issued. It is devoted to the narrative history of the county and of the city of Charlotte from 1762 to date. Volume two will follow and will be in the nature

of an appendix, "containing ample discussions of important events, a collection of biographies and many official documents." Authorities are given after each chapter and each volume is to be supplied with an index.

Mr. Tompkins's work differs considerably from most local histories in that it comes much nearer to the German idea of a social history than works of its class are apt to do. In the present volume are chapters on industries and customs, education, slavery, introduction of the cotton industry, effect of slavery on industries, railroads, mining and the mint, road-building, manufactures, the whole being so arranged as to bring out in clear perspective the blighting effects of the slave system and the phenomenal growth of the last twenty years which has made Charlotte the center of a circle whose radius of 100 miles embraces nearly 300 cotton mills, operating 3,000,000 spindles, 85,000 looms and employing a capital of \$100,000,000. This study is the more valuable as it shows that the ante-bellum life of Mecklenburg in its rise and fall under slavery was fairly typical of the State as a whole; that the introduction of manufactures has increased the gross profits of the county 30 per cent., that the annual profit on the money invested is 26 per cent., and that the increased value of the county's cotton crop by reason of its manufacture at home is 150 per cent. These figures and the example of this pioneer manufacturing county encourage us to think of and work more ardently for the day when the whole of the cotton crop shall be spun and woven in Southern mills. Then will Cotton be King indeed!

In its methods of investigation the book shows many virtues and many vices. There is an index, many illustrations, many names and dates, all of which count for minuteness and exactness, qualities preëminently desirable in a book of this character. On the other hand many subjects do not appear to be exhaustively treated; the chapters are

short; a given subject is not treated entirely in one place, but is cut up into a number of sections and arranged chronologically, which gives the book an air of scrappiness and incompleteness; and while many facts are given they are not always corroborated.

In the use of sources Mr. Tompkins ascends to the heights of Parnassus and descends to the bottomless pit. He properly makes constant use of printed and unprinted records, newspapers, reports of railroads and other corporations, proceedings of societies, census returns, and many other original and unimpeachable sources. But in dealing with printed histories he sometimes makes the wildest and most inexcusable breaks, even quoting from Wheeler, Appleton's Encyclopaedia and Eggleston's History of the United States! The most serious charge against him on the score of materials is that he seems to be unacquainted with the latest works dealing with the more general phases of his book. Thus he says on p. 5 that George Durant was a Quaker and that his land grant (in 1662 not 1633) became the nucleus of a large Quaker settlement, a refuge for Quakers from Virginia and New England. Again, there are many errors, perhaps due in part to carelessness in proof reading, as: p. 2, 1687 for 1587; p. 5, 1712 for 1711, and 1633 for 1662; p. 19, Louis XVI for Louis XIV; p. 39, Hermon Husband (not Herman Husbands) was *not* present at the battle of Alamance, May 16 (not 17), 1771, and so could not have led the Regulators, etc. These are all small errors, it is true, but Mr. Tompkins has done so much and such admirable work in advancing cotton manufacturing both in practical form and in such published works as his *Cotton Mill Commercial Features*, *Cotton and Cotton Oil*, *Cotton Values in Textile Fabrics*, and *Cotton Mill Processes and Calculations*, that his name carries with it far more weight than that of most writers on local history and for this reason it is with him a case of *noblesse oblige*.

But all the blemishes on the work are really insignificant when we consider the strong grasp of the subject, and the philosophical conception of treatment. Mr. Tompkins sets a noble example of combining great business success with high mental culture.

The book is well printed and bound by a Charlotte publishing company, many of the illustrations are reproduced from his *Cotton Mill Commercial Features*, those of cotton, in color, being remarkably true to life.

GORDON KEITH. By Thomas Nelson Page, with illustrations by George Wright, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903 D. pp viii+11.+548, 8 ills., cloth, \$1.50

This is reported in the press as an extraordinarily successful novel of North and South, but it leaves a bad farewell behind. The hero is a young Southerner who inherits from his father, a Confederate general, nothing save honor and the instincts of a gentleman. In the struggle for wealth which possesses him these nobler qualities are well nigh crushed. Gordon Keith starts out with lofty ideals; these are choked in the blighting society of New York money bags and would have perished utterly had he not been recalled to his better self at the critical moment by General Keith.

As for the other men in the book they are almost without exception of the low, vulgar sort whose money causes others less wealthy to fall in worship before them. The women are even more shallow and empty than the men. A continuous round of dances, dinners, gossip and scandal makes up their lives. They serve no useful purpose in life or in novels except as living advocates of socialism. It is into this atmosphere of wealth, not of culture, education, refinement or intelligence that success introduces Gordon Keith. He becomes one of them. He enters a gentleman, a majestic demigod, like Lucifer ready to war with the Almighty, and ends

"squat like a toad at the listening ear of Eve." It takes the genius of insight and the pen of mastery to give us the literary portrait of these disgusting currents of life.

LAFITTE OF LOUISIANA. By Mary Devereux. Illustrated by Harry C. Edwards. (Boston. Little, Brown & Company, 1902. D. pp viii+427, 5 ills., cloth, \$1.50.)

This novel is a romance founded on the remarkable career of Jean Lafitte during the French Revolution and the War of 1812. Lafitte bore a prominent part in the history of Louisiana; and from the facts and legends which have come down to us the author has constructed an absorbing story, which begins with Lafitte's first meeting with Napoleon, and closes with the battle of New Orleans. The heroine of the book is Rose de Cazeneau, granddaughter of Count de Cazeneau. The author has pictured the times in which Lafitte lived and her characters, particularly those of Lafitte and Napoleon Bonaparte, are well drawn.

MY CAPTIVE. By J. A. Altsheler. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1902. D. pp. v+281, cloth, \$1.25.

This is a sweet little love story of the Southern campaign of 1780-81 and of the War in the Carolinas. The scene is laid in South Carolina and culminates in the battle of Cowpens. The hero is one of Washington's cavalrymen, while the heroine is an English girl taken in one of the surprises that enlivened that gloomy winter. The bulk of the book is occupied in relating the experiences of the young soldier, who tells his own story, in trying to reach the American lines with his fair captive. They have many narrow escapes in that Tory infested land, but finally reach safety and with the usual result. The author has no moral to point, no tale to adorn, no sermon to preach, no ulterior purpose in view. He tells simply and well a wholesome and pure story of love and adventure.

A LIST OF BOOKS ON THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, with references to periodicals. By A. P. C. Griffin, Chief of Division of Bibliography. With chronological list of maps in the Library of Congress, by P. Lee Phillips, Chief of Division of Maps and Charts. Washington: Govt. Printing Office, 4to pp xv, 397, cloth.

A magnificent piece of work is this, well arranged comprehensive, systematic, splendidly indexed. It contains titles of 1,715 books, 197 government documents, 45 consular reports and 970 magazine articles, with 860 map items. The mass of printed material is set forth under 29 topics, such as "Agriculture," "finance," "pirates," etc., all in a table of contents. The maps follow in chronological and numerical order. There are four indexes, a subject and an author index each to the "Book" class and to the maps. But the best feature of the whole volume is the introductory summary of 9 pages, pointing out the leading authorities on different branches of knowledge of the Archipelago—an aid to all, but especially excellent for the great bulk of readers. Practically Mr. Griffin has set a perfect standard for bibliographical productions, a guide for all laborers in that department.

THE OLD JEWISH CEMETERIES AT CHARLESTON, S. C. By Dr. Barnett A. Elzas. Charleston, S. C.: The Daggett Printing Company, 1903. Pp. 121, 8vo., cloth.

A genuine contribution to history in the best methods of to-day is this volume of transcripts of the tombstone inscriptions of the Jewish cemeteries of Charleston, S. C. Dr. Elzas has taken unwearied pains to insure accuracy, having compared his copy several times with the originals. He has not followed the lines on the stones that would have made too large a book, but he aimed to give the exact language. He

has also included a history of the three old cemeteries, with some small private burying grounds. His index is substantially perfect. He has, in fact, thoroughly covered his field, his scientific work can never be superseded, but will grow in value with the years.

## PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

THE GULF STATES HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Vol II, No 2, September, 1903. Joel C. DuBose, editor, Montgomery, Ala. \$3.00 yearly, 50 cts. singly, pp. 73-136.

Contents: 1. The Formation of the Union League in Alabama, by Walter L. Fleming. 17 pp., covering the two years from 1867 to 1869, with a short general sketch of the origin of this order in its efforts to preserve the Union. (A thorough, scientific paper.)

2. Major George Farragut, by Marshall DeLancey Haywood. 9 pp., sketch of the father of Admiral Farragut, a full-blooded Spaniard, born 1755, died 1817, having lived the most of the time in Tennessee after leaving Spain in 1772. (Based on original material.)

3. Recollections of Judge Wm. D. Wood, 11 pp., covering Texas life during the Civil War. (Interesting first hand material.)

4. An American Prince and Princess, by J. F. Bouchelle. 5 pp., sketching career of N. A. Murat, nephew of Bonaparte, and Murat's wife, C. D. Willis; both living mostly in the South. (No references.)

5. The Waltons of Virginia, by Mrs. Wm. C. Stubbs. 3 pp., including also some from N. C. and Ga.

6. Tennessee Newspaper Files in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass., 5 pp., very incomplete files mostly.

7. Documents, 4 pp., letter of March 10, 1849, from W. R. King to J. W. Womack dealing with Alabama politics; two letters of 1866 from H. McCulloch and J. F. Simmons, on reconstruction.

8. Minor Topics, 2 pp., on the Choctaw Town Nanipacna, by H. S. Halbert; Indian massacre of 1760 at Long Cane, S. C., from S. C. Gazette of Feb. 28, 1760.

9. Notes and Queries, 1 p.; historical news, 1 p.; book notes and reviews, 2 pp.

THE QUARTERLY OF THE TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, October, 1903, Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 95-176, yearly \$2.00, singly 50 cents, Austin, Tex.

Contents: 1. The Cherokee Indians in Texas, by Ernest William Winkler. 71 pp., development of an under graduate thesis. (In first class method being fortified with many footnotes.)

2. Miles Squier Bennet, by Adele B. Looscan. 2 pp., born Dec. 14, 1818, died May 3, 1903; reprinted from San Antonio Sunday Light for May 31, 1903.

3. Book Reviews and Notices, 2 pp.; Notes and Fragments, 3 pp.; Queries and Answers, one-half page.; Affairs of the Association, 1p.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL MAGAZINE, October, 1903, Vol. IV, No. 4, quarterly, pp. 263-355, \$3.00 yearly, \$1.00 singly, Charleston, S. C.

Contents: 1. Letters of Hon. Henry Laurens to his son John, 1773-1776, continued; 15 pp., four letters, chiefly of family matters, fatherly advice and some local events and general politics.

2. Letters of Rev. Samuel Thomas, 1702-1706, concluded; 8 pp., three letters on the ignorance of the South Carolinians and his missionary labors among them.

3. South Carolina Gleanings in England, concluded; 10 pp., from L. Withington with something from H. F. Waters; will abstracts.

4. The Butlers of South Carolina, by Theodore D. Jersey. 16 pp., beginning with James Butler and coming to the present.

5. Historical Notes, 2pp.; Necrology, 1 p.; Index, 39 pp.

THE SEWANEE REVIEW, October, 1903, Vol. XI, No. 4, pp. 385-512, quarterly, \$2.00 yearly, 50 cents singly, Sewanee, Tenn.

- Contents:
1. Canadian Novels and Novelists, by Lawrence J. Burpee. 27 pp., chiefly contemporary work though going back to the eighteenth century, leading men sketched with titles of works in footnotes; claims some 250 English fiction authors in Canada, not counting French ones or magazine tales.
  2. The Real and the Ideal in History, by Frederick W. Moore. 14 pp., essay that our estimates of men and events change with new material and time.
  3. The Services of Naturalism to Life and Literature, by Martin Schutze. 19 pp., essay referring to Zola, Tolstoi, Balzac, Ibsen, Hardy, Hauptman and others, but holding that naturalism has run its course. (Very didactic and formal.)
  4. Browning's Place in the Evolution of English Poetry, by Lewis Worthington Smith. 8 pp., essay that his work is "A reversion to earlier forms," with reference to Chaucer, Spenser, Milton, Coleridge, and Wordsworth. (Really not much on Browning.)
  5. Sidney Lanier's Lectures, by L. W. Payne, Jr. 9 pp., review of the two volumes issued nearly two years ago; "There is not a dull page in the book," shows tone of review.
  6. One Phase of Literary Conditions in the South, by Carl Holliday. 4 pp., vigorous view that the hope of literary improvement rests on "The Southern Public School Teacher."
  7. Classic Versification in English Poetry of the Sixteenth Century, by H. Carrington Lancaster. 7 pp., treating the work of Gabriel Harvey and his school.
  8. Frank R. Stockton, by Edwin W. Bowen. 5 pp., mostly estimating his works. (Very readable.)
  9. Roumania and the Monroe Doctrine, by Edmund Ar-

thur Dodge. 11 pp., dealing with Secretary Hay's note on the Jewish Question, with some historical sketch from diplomacy. (Not very clear.)

10. The Far Eastern Situation, by Edwin Maxey. 7 pp., general essay, with few exact details.

11. Reviews, 9 pp.; Notes, 7 pp.

SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY, January, 1904, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 99, \$2.00 yearly, 50 cents singly, Durham, N. C.

Contents: 1. Conservatism and Progress in the Cotton Belt, by Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, Ph. D. 9 pp., essay restating unfortunate influences of slavery, with attacks on "Bourbons." (Another iteration of the race question very hazy on what he calls "Bourbons.")

2. Frederick Law Olmsted on the South, 1889, by Thomas H. Clark. 5 pp., a letter optimistic as to decline of sectional feeling and improvement of negroes.

3. Wisconsin Libraries, by Charles Forster Smith, Ph. D. pp. 10, a very interesting summary of the work of libraries in that State.

4. North Carolina's Part in the Revolution, No. II, by Sallie Joyner Davis, continued. 12 pp., details carefully gathered from the original records.

5. The Removal of Legal and Political Disabilities, 1868-1898, No. II, by J. G. DeR. Hamilton. 13 pp., based chiefly on the Congressional debates but not fortified with footnotes.

6. The Christian Persecutions and Roman Jurisprudence, by William Kenneth Boyd. 9 pp., in good historical method with quotations and footnotes.

7. Trinity College and Academic Liberty, 11 pp., trustee statement, Faculty Memorial and student editorials, dealing with the resignation offered by Prof. J. S. Bassett consequent upon his article of last October on the race question.

8. George Eliot as a Prose Artist, by Edwin W. Bowen, Ph. D. 15 pp., estimating her works claiming that she "had genius," and raised romance to a higher plane.
9. Book Reviews, 9 pp.; Literary Notes, 1 p.

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY MAGAZINE for December, 1903, Vol. XXIII, No. 6, pp. 421-526, \$1.00 yearly, singly 10 cents, Washington, D. C., (organ D. A. R.).

1. Berks County, Pennsylvania, in the American Revolution, by Jane S. Owen Keim. 7 pp., mere essay.
2. The Masts of the Frigate Constitution, by Netta Lee Goldsborough. 4 pp., that the masts became the columns of the house of Daniel Bedinger, of Shepherdstown, W. Va., which was burned in 1863, thus destroying the masts.
3. Our Flag—June 1777, by Helen P. Kane. 1 p., poem.
4. Children of the Republic, by Caroline M. Murphy. 4 pp., plan to interest all children in the organization.
5. Revolutionary Widows, 1890. 2 pp., 23 widows in all, now nearly all dead.
6. Revolutionary Records, 2 pp., death notices from Boston newspapers and the Evangelical Magazine.
7. Real Daughters, 3 pp., Mrs. M. B. Belcher, Mrs. P. S. Merrill, and Mrs. M. E. G. B. Cobb.
8. Work of the Chapters, 22 pp.; Parliamentary Law Talks, by Mary Belle King Sherman, 2 pp.; Genealogical Notes and Queries, 5 pp.; Young People's Department, 5 pp.; In Memoriam, 2 pp.; book notes, 1 p.; official matters, 46 pp.

CONFEDERATE VETERAN, Dec. 1903, Jan. 1904, Vol. XI, No. 12, Vol. XII, No. 1, pp. 531-567, 5-42, yearly \$1.00, singly 10 cents, Nashville, Tenn.

Fresh light is thrown on several prominent events of the Civil War in these two numbers. Lieut. M. Overly, claiming to be "probably the very last confederate to leave Colum-

bia" in 1865, gives his emphatic testimony to clear Wade Hampton from the charge of burning that city. T. J. Watson offers his recollections of the killing of Gen. J. E. B. Stuart. W. F. Randolph, captain of Stonewall Jackson's body guard, rehearses from memory his evidence that Jackson was shot by his own men and not by the enemy. William Le Roy Broun, a very prominent educator in the South, adds material of value to the mass already accumulated on the history of the war, in a paper describing the work of the Confederate Ordnance Department of which he was a very active official having charge of the arsenal at Richmond for a considerable time. It is one of the most important contributions for the future historian to work over that have been made of late by this periodical.

THE LOST CAUSE, Sept., Oct., Nov. 1903, Vol. X, Nos. 2, 3, 4, pp. 17-64, yearly \$1.00, singly 10 cents Louisville, Ky.

These three issues are filled largely with very interesting reprints such as "Personne's Letters" from Charleston in 1861; extracts from various sources on the history of the confederate flag and an article from Dr. S. E. Lewis on the humane step taken by the confederates, largely at his instance, for practically treating surgeons as non-combatants.

## NOTES AND NEWS.

THE NEW ORLEANS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.—From accounts in the daily press the gathering at New Orleans, Dec. 29-31, last, was very enjoyable. A train load of historians and economists from the northern section of the country went down on a special excursion for this purpose. The hospitality was unstinted. Besides social entertainments the members were given the opportunity to inspect a large sugar refinery near the city. A Political Science Association was formed to cover the whole United States. There has been a feeling for some time that this branch of study was not adequately treated either in the historical or economic Associations. Prof. W. W. Willoughby, Baltimore, Md., was chosen Secretary, with the general organization for such bodies. It is intended to cover such topics as International Law and Diplomacy, Comparative Legislation, Historical and Comparative Jurisprudence, Constitutional Law, Administration, Politics, and Political Theory. A publication of some sort is to be maintained if sufficient support can be secured. Annual meetings are to be held along with the two sister societies if possible.

ONE MAN'S INFLUENCE.—It is possible that the effects of Mr. Thos. M. Owen's splendid work as director of the Alabama Department of History will eventuate in the establishment of a duplicate in the State of South Carolina. At least the matter is being urged upon the present Legislature. In his endorsement of the move in South Carolina, Mr. Owen takes undoubtedly the wisest position in such matters when he urges that public supported organizations of the kind should not attempt to publish any material except original

sources such as documents, diaries, or mere compilations of facts and events. If government publications attempt to go beyond this safeguard they soon flounder in a miry mush of platitudes and essays which are a deplorable waste of valuable space. Several States are beautiful examples of how degenerate editing becomes at times, when the manager has to accept everything from an author with a pull, and reject everything that is likely to wound any tender sensibility.

THOROUGHNESS OF HISTORICAL METHODS TO-DAY.—Modern historiography is becoming more and more relentless every year. The foremost workers in the field are raising the standard higher so that for scientific history almost unquenchable demands are made upon a man's time and labor. Prof. Justin H. Smith, of Dartmouth College, is an illustration of this in his energetic expenditure of time, and effort in the preparation of this book on Arnold's March (reviewed in these Publications, pp. 467, Vol. 7). Not only did he employ the services of trained copyists, but he hired several guides in following Arnold's course from New England to Quebec. He, himself, went over the entire distance at least once and some of the stages as much as seven times. He also went down the Chaudiere river in a canoe at the imminent risk of his life in passing over the dangerous rapids. When the book was in type he took the infinite pains of reading proof by the original manuscripts with the aid of an expert decipherer. These toilsome efforts resulted in a clean sweep of the entire field both as to the material and as to the proper editing of it—no higher praise can be given to any historical volume designed for specialists. The general reader might find what he considers faults but as the book was not intended for him, his criticisms would really not count against it. Prof. Smith is

now working on the history of the Mexican War and he is applying the same thorough, comprehensive, exhaustive methods in his search for the truth.

PEABODY FUND.—At the January meeting of the Trustees of this educational foundation no successor was chosen to Dr. J. L. M. Curry as general agent. Dr. S. A. Green was continued temporarily in charge. There was a discussion as to permanently disposing of the fund for the establishment of a Normal Institution at some point in the South but final determination of these important questions was left for the next meeting of the Trustees to be held in October.

## PUBLICATIONS

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VOLUME I, 1897, pp. 336, (Out of Print).

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VOLUME II, 1898, pp. 390, (Out of Print).

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VOLUME III, 1899, pp. 384, \$3.00 UNBOUND.

THE FLORIDA MOUND-BUILDERS, Thomas Featherstonhaugh—EDWARD MOSELEY, James Franklin Shinn—JACOB AMMONET, OF VIRGINIA, Clifton Wood Bransford—SOME DIFFICULTIES OF A TEXAS EMPRESARIO, Lester G. Bugbee—THE TEXAN EXPEDITION AGAINST MIER, Thomas J. Green—PERSONNEL OF THE NORTH CAROLINA CONVENTION OF 1788—A CONFEDERATE INCIDENT, J. L. M. Curry—REPORT OF THIRD ANNUAL MEETING, Colyer Meriwether, *Sec'y*—SIDNEY LANIER, George S. Wills—NULLIFICATION RESOLUTIONS, A. S. Salley—THE RENICK FAMILY OF VIRGINIA, E. I. Renick—HENRY TIMROD, Henry E. Shepherd and A. S. Salley—JOHN BROWN, Thomas Featherstonhaugh—SALISBURY (N. C.) CONFEDERATE PRISON, A. W. Mangum—BOOK NOTES—NOTES AND QUERIES—INDEX.

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VOLUME IV, 1900, pp. 525, \$3.00 UNBOUND.

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